

City Development Plans And Their Implementation

(Papers and Proceedings of the Seminar)



CENTRE FOR URBAN STUDIES
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PREFACE

This volume brings together the papers submitted at the seminar on 'City Development Plans and their Implementation', organised by the IIPA's Centre for Urban Studies during May 3-4, 1975, along with the reports of the working groups and a summary proceeding of the seminar.

It is hoped that the papers, which bring out operational problems of city development planning in India, as well as the working group reports and the summary proceedings of the seminar, would be found useful by the students of planning and development administration, as well as by the practitioners and policy-makers involved in urban development in India.

The seminar was organized with the active help and cooperation of the Ministry of Works and Housing and the Town and Country Planning Organization. It would not have been possible to ensure the participation of a large number of officials involved in urban development in the seminar without the personal interest evinced in the seminar by Shri C.S. Chandrasekhara, Chief Planner, Town and Country Planning Organization. Professor Deva Raj undertook the responsibility of organizing the seminar. In this, he was assisted by the faculty members of the IIPA's Centre for Urban Studies.

The responsibility for publication of the volume fell on Prof. A. Datta. He was ably assisted in his task by Kumari Shanta Kohli and Shri M.K. Balachandran. The publication section of the Institute bore the burden of printing the volume in a short time.

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INTRODUCTION

The seminar discussed the scope and strategies of city development plans, the legal framework and the administrative infrastructure necessary for carrying out the planning objectives. The issues which were taken for detailed discussion were:

- (i) strategies for planning and urbanization;
- (ii) scope and contents of city development plans;
- (iii) plan formulation processes;
- (iv) implementation of plans; and
- (v) financing city development plans.

Three working groups were formed to consider a (a) programme planning, coordination and monitoring, (b) organization and legal tools, and (c) budgeting and finance.

Prof. Deva Raj's paper raises a few basic issues which could be relevant to any programme of urban development. He feels it is necessary to build up processes and inter-related methods and techniques of programme formulation and project management in urban development.

Mr. Row in his paper shows that perceptions of the present and visions of the future should be unclouded by illusion or delusion. He emphasises integrated planning and expresses that positive interaction of different aspects of planning is the need of the day.

Shri Prasad in his paper pleads for people's involvement. He feels that appropriate policy in a democratic set up is determined through public debates and the political choice.

S/Shri Rao, Maudgal and Nafday in their paper try to bring out the importance of coordination among all the different bodies engaged in development to ensure enforcement of

accepted plans. For this, there is need for an organizational unit which is charged with responsibility and which has access to the decision makers and the information required to carry out its functions.

Prof. Bhattacharya highlights the importance of administrative planning to ensure implementation of master plans for the urban areas. He takes the case of Jaipur and tries to answer the question concerning what kind of organizational planning can be done to ensure its implementation.

Shri Gowda tries to show the importance of personnel in urban development. His view about establishment of means and goals relationship in a rational way may help in setting priorities and choosing the locational and organizational aspects of urban development.

Shri Balachandran analyses the constitutional provisions relating to acquisition before and after the Twenty-Fifth Amendment and the judicial decisions relating thereto, with a view to identify the legal bottlenecks that stand in the way of successful plan implementation and suggests remedial measures.

Shri Chandrasekhara's paper pleads not only for competent personnel, but also emphasises its role with the public at the grass-roots in any action programme.

Shri Biswas brings out some of the salient features of the inter-relationships between the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization and the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority.

Shri Gupta has explained the present position of public planning during the various stages of plan formulation and implementation. He hopes that there would be effective budgetary control for making plan implementation more effective.

Shri Balakrishnan emphasises the social benefit with the help of Madras Case. For him consideration regarding how many people are benefited and over what time period is very important in choosing alternative schemes and projects.

Shri Shafi gives an account of the urban development processes in Delhi and concludes that unless the planners are involved fully in both plan preparation and implementation, it would result in faulty or untimely implementation.

Shri Pendse has reviewed the Delhi experience and concludes that the problems arising during the planning process in Delhi

are mainly due to the multiplicity of organizations and lack of coordination at various levels and procedural delays are partly due to the peculiar political set-up of Delhi.

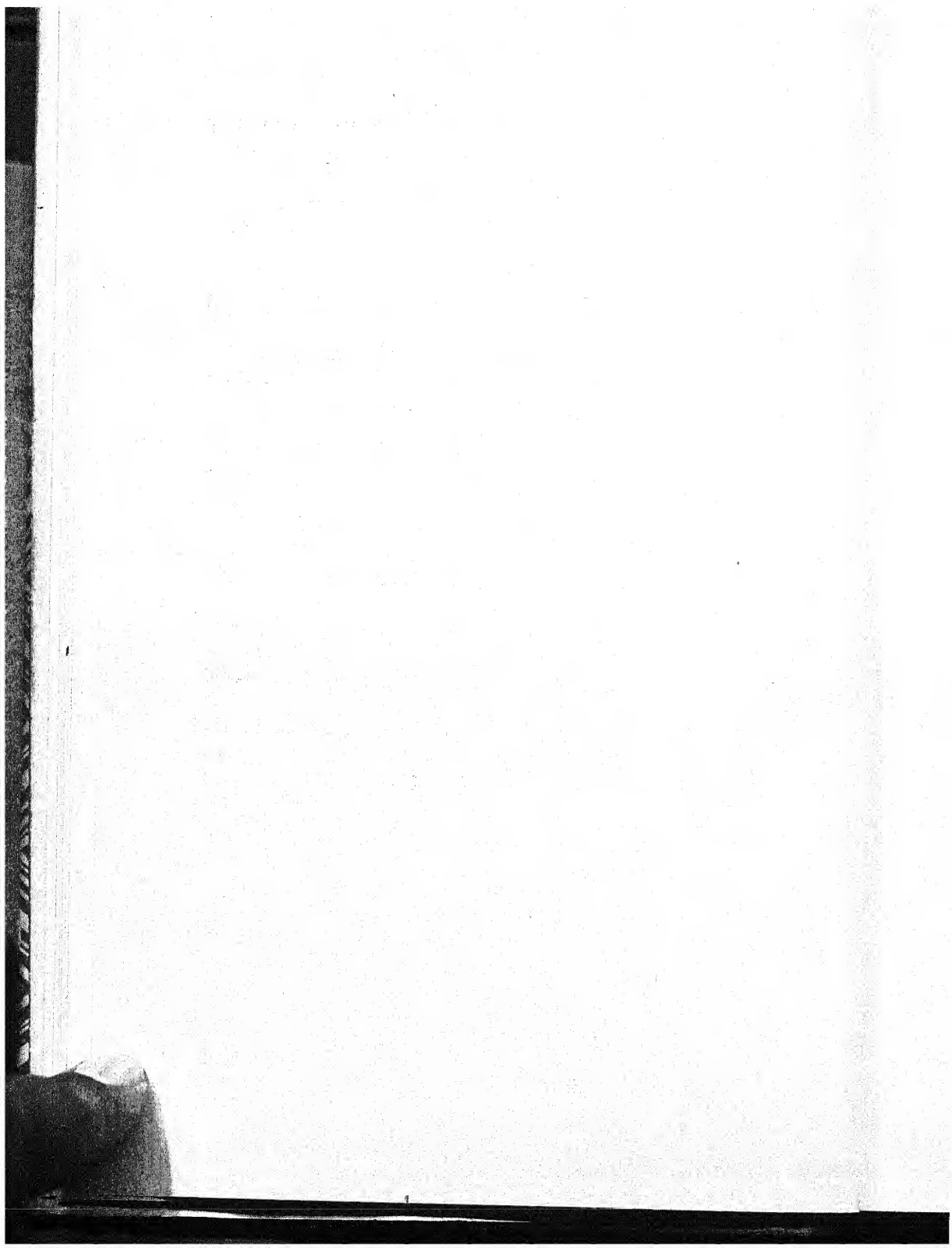
Prof. Deva Raj has given an account of Kanpur Plan and its implementation. He feels that in the implementation front Kanpur has a long way to go. There is need for new perspective so that overall comprehensive development programmes could be developed. On the planning side he feels there is need for regional perspective.

Shri Mozumder in his paper states that in any planning process, broad goals are required to be identified first. Once this is done, the concept of strategy for development steps in. This is normally the outcome of a number of factors which are typical in relation to particular areas under consideration.

Shri Keskar's paper seeks to identify the legal, financial and administrative problems of the development plan at its two stages, namely, the preparation and the implementation. After the identification of the problems and the lacunae, the Kolhapur case has been discussed to clarify at least one area of deficiency in the implementation of plans.

Shri Dube feels that if plans are to be effective, these must take into account the economic, social and technological context. If this is missing these environmental constraints would seriously hamper the plan implementation.

Shri Baishya critically evaluates the programmes of the sub-divisional plans to find out what went wrong and where. This exercise might help preparing plans which are more practical.



City Development Plans and Their Implementation

According to information received from ten States, in the latter half of 1974, it would appear that over 400 Master Plans¹ for towns, cities and city regions have been drawn up over the last fifteen years. These plans are at various stages of sanction, enforcement and implementation but by and large it seems that implementation is marginal because of lack of appropriate legal tools, administrative machinery and financial budgeting on the basis of detailed programmes and projects for integrated development. A pertinent instance is the prestigious Bombay Metropolitan Regional Plan prepared between 1967-70 by a statutory Regional Planning Board and sanctioned by the Government of Maharashtra in 1973 after which the Regional Planning Board seems to have disappeared from the scene leaving the Plan to be enforced by the rural and urban local authorities of the area (who have had no commitment to it) and partly to be implemented by the City and Industrial Development Corporation (CIDCO). It is only now in 1975 that the Bombay Metropolitan Regional Development Authority has been set up under fresh legislation.

With some exceptions and slight variations, most cities have had a similar tale in respect of their master plans. The two most important instances of plan implementation that have had some impact on the thinking of the State Government in the

¹The term Master Plan is used to indicate physical land use plans. The term City Development Plans used in Planning Commission's circular letter of August, 1962, really related to project-programme formulation for urban development rather than a comprehensive combination of spatial plans and integrated development programme, in which sense the term is here used.

last two years have been the Master Plan for Delhi² under the auspices of the Delhi Development Authority and the Calcutta Basic Development Plan³ drawn up by the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organisation in 1966 and taken up for implementation by the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority set up under an Act in 1970. Another source of inspiration that is likely to give a new orientation to city development plans has been the Central Scheme under the Fifth Plan for Integrated Urban Development for implementation of urban projects in metropolitan cities and other towns with population exceeding three lakhs or those with a growth potential being areas of national importance. The supplementary assistance is being offered under the following conditions:

1. The State Government should have an integrated plan for the development of city based on a long term master plan and should also have specific projects which could be taken up for financing under this Scheme. Financial assistance may include assistance in the form of seed capital for the purpose of land acquisition, development and disposal, for urban renewal and redevelopment projects and for provision of urban infrastructure and composite projects for the development of a specific area of a city including provision of civic services in critical areas.
2. The State Governments should pass comprehensive Town & Country Planning Acts providing for preparation and statutory approval of master plans, land use control and setting up of Planning and Development Authorities for undertaking the execution of development plans.
3. The State Governments should set up Planning and Development Authorities which should have adequate powers for planning, coordinating, implementing, funding, and supervising the programmes of land development and disposal and for execution of other

²*Master Plan for Delhi*—approved by the Central Government under Section 9(2) of the Delhi Development Act, 1957 and published by DDA on 1st September, 1962.

³*Basic Development Plan for the Calcutta Metropolitan District 1966-86*, CMPO, Government of West Bengal, 1966.

projects. Such authorities will need to have statutory backing, so that they can effectively coordinate the development of cities in an integrated manner. Naturally, these authorities should have inter-disciplinary expertise available to plan and execute comprehensive development programmes.

4. The State Government should adopt a rational urban land and housing policy. Such a policy should provide for optimum utilisation of land for various needs of the community and should particularly take into account the requirements of weaker sections of the society. Such a policy should also be integrated with a policy of large scale housing programme to be undertaken by the Authority itself or by another agency created for this purpose.
5. The State Governments, particularly those seeking assistance for metropolitan cities should accept and adopt a policy of dispersal of industries and other economic activities from metropolitan areas to smaller growth centres and this policy should be given effect to while preparing the development plans of the cities, so that large industries are prevented from coming up in metropolitan centres while adequate incentives are offered to them in other satellite and smaller towns.

The Madras Metropolitan Development Authority was set up in 1973 and there has been considerable activity in the States to set up Development Authorities on the Delhi and Calcutta models, without adequate consideration of the shortcomings seen in their functioning. In a number of cases attempts have been made to supplement the existing Master Plans with an integrated development programme and it has been possible for the Government of India to release some funds during 1974-75 under the above mentioned scheme to a number of cities. There is, however, need of evolving methods procedures and strategies for the formulation of integrated programmes based on realistic spatial plans, backed by adequate statutory provisions, financing and budgetary techniques and an organisation duly equipped to ensure enforcement on the one hand and undertake execution of works as well as coordination with other agencies and development departments

operating in the area. This may look to be a tall order but the challenge of rapid urbanisation and complexities and technicalities of the tasks and operation involved can be met only by a matching effort on the organisation front for planning and implementation.

PLANNING GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

The motivation for preparation of master plans has largely been to provide a physical frame of land use and communications for a projected city population over a period of 20-25 years, with regulation and enforcement being the dominant objective leaving actual positive tasks of urban and socio-economic development to various agencies, which may or may not adopt the spatial dimensions. There is also the proverbial divorce between the economic and physical planning. The city Master Plans have been prepared generally in isolation from the general environment and programmes of socio-economic planning at the district and state levels, while the latter have mostly ignored the town plans or even the regional plans prepared by the State Town Planning Departments.

The Master Plan for Delhi was the first comprehensive urban development plan with metropolitan and regional perspectives. The principles, objectives and methods for the Delhi plan and its implementation were set out as follows:⁴

- (i) The best possible location of employment centre and housing facilities. This involves creating the optimum distribution of work centres of different types in such a way as: (1) to make the employee housing both accessible to such centres and also protected from any deleterious influences that might derive from their unplanned juxtaposition, and (2) to ensure the location of employment centres which are in places accessible to needed facilities and services.
- (ii) The elimination of slums and squatting and provision of adequate housing and related community facilities.
- (iii) The development of adequate transportation facilities for the movement of people and goods, bearing in mind

⁴*Master Plan for Delhi—Work Studies*, Vol. I, p. xx.

- the anticipated improvement due to local nuclei.
- (iv) The rebuilding of deteriorated areas and the application of effective regulations for new developments, consistent with the above three objectives.
 - (v) The combination of utilitarian solutions to development problems.
 - (vi) The assignment of stages for development.
 - (vii) The analysis of the cost of undertaking the solutions to planning problems.
 - (viii) Having arrived at proposals for these needs in the first step, *i.e.*, the initial Plan, studies must continue, actual conditions checked against the projections of the Plan. Continued study and thought must be directed towards further planning, partly to keep in motion the execution of the present plan, and partly to make any adjustments that may become necessary as new factors emerge to effect the area.

The focus of these objectives is evidently land development, housing and community facilities, with added emphasis as continued planning for applying prototype solutions to problems of various sorts with suitable modifications consistent with sound planning and according to priorities and stages of development in the light of available resources.

In Calcutta the perspectives were somewhat different. Conditioned by the "immense backlog of deficit in all aspects of urban living that must be removed simultaneously with the development of facilities and services to meet the need of an expanding population", the planners viewed their immediate tasks as⁵ "to find ways to arrest the present course of deterioration in the existing urban services and facilities of Calcutta; to determine at what points in the whole social system action, investment, and intervention will have most immediate effect in generating positive economic growth and fundamental social progress; to discover how these positive growth forces can be accelerated to the point at which they become regenerative and self-sustaining". The plan set out the following four interrelated dominant objectives concerned, respectively with economic growth, physical and social development,

⁵ *Basic Development Plan*, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

administrative effectiveness and democratic progress:

1. To promote a more dynamic growth of the metropolitan economy with increased production and income, with sufficient employment opportunities, and with close integration with the economic development of the region for which Calcutta provides vital economic functions.
2. To develop an urban environment which is socially satisfactory and capable of sustaining with appropriate facilities and services for a population of about 12.3 million in the CMD by 1986.
3. To create the machinery for sustained development planning and for effective plan implementation within a coherent growth framework for the CMD and the State.
4. To strengthen local self-government and citizen participation in the development of the Metropolitan District through a more effective mobilisation of local fiscal resources, civic leadership and voluntary citizen effort.

In spite of the wider objectives of the Calcutta Plan, its actual approach and proposals were very much limited with focus on immediate action programme—a crisis operation to meet basic deficiencies as also to identify some major works of transport and public utilities as basic infrastructure, rather than an overall view of all aspects of planning and development which were presented for more comprehensively in the Delhi Master Plan and its two volumes of Work Studies. Calcutta's Plan ultimately turned out to be only a limited programme plan whereas Delhi's Master Plan combines a broad physical plan with multi-sectoral programme (as it should be) and the plan objectives included urban development and land policies in the setting of National Capital Region spread over an area of 55,000 sq. miles.⁶

It may be pertinent to mention here the main objectives set out in the *Integrated Development Programme for Ludhiana*⁷:

- (i) to prescribe a proper standard of development in the new areas to be developed, in future, for urban uses, on the self-financing principle under which the entire cost of making the land fit for building operations, provision of

⁶*Delhi Master Plan—Work Studies*, Vol. I., p. xxi.

⁷*Integrated Development Programme, 1974-79*, Ludhiana Project Report—Urban Development Department Government of Punjab (Mimeo), Sept. 1974, pp. 2-3.

roads, street lighting, water supply, sewerage drainage, construction of buildings of public amenities such as schools, health centres, development of public parks, landscaping, resettlement of villages and abadies proposed to be acquired, administrative charges, conservancy and maintenance of services for five years and other matters as may be necessary, shall be charged to the development cost and thus fully recovered from the sale/lease of developed plots for various uses;

- (ii) to wipe out the existing backlogs in urban services and amenities within the next five to seven years;
- (iii) to integrate the development of the new areas (to be developed in future) with the improvement and development of services and amenities in the existing city and to make the entire process of urban improvement and development self-financing, besides generating surplus funds for developing other growth centres;
- (iv) to provide adequate land, developed to the desired standards, to fully meet with the demand for various urban uses so that speculative development and haphazard growth no longer remain economically attractive;
- (v) to provide for effective enforcement of the provisions of the proposed legislation for completely eliminating the evil of haphazard growth.

The above discussion may help evolve a broad statement of planning goals and objectives, which have been seen in different perspectives in the absence of a clearly defined national policy on urbanisation. Some emerging goals and strategies for development plans can be identified as follows:

- (a) to ensure the most efficient and economic utilisation of land as a scarce national resource on the basis of a physical plan for land use and communications;
- (b) to organise proper dispersal of human activities combining employment and housing within reasonably limited urbanised districts or nuclei in a metropolitan or regional setting;
- (c) to limit and discourage the growth of large agglomerations by drawing up regional plans for a rational pattern of human settlements and ensure that city plans are linked up and conform to the regional framework;

- (d) to work out an urban land policy of acquisition and disposal to meet social objectives on the one hand and to generate resources for financing of urban development on a self-liquidating basis ;
- (e) to regulate all development in accordance with the master plans; and
- (f) to formulate programmes for integrated development on the basis of the physical plans and provide the necessary basis for socio-economic development of the area.

PROGRAMME PLANNING

The above objectives will require the preparation of regional and city plans on a long-term basis providing the framework for regulated growth and a long-term broad programme plan embracing various sectors of land acquisition and development, residential neighbourhoods and housing, urban renewal and redevelopment, industrial and business centres, traffic and transportation, water supply, sewerage & drainage and community services of health, education and recreation. The Calcutta Plan as indicated above was in its practical application programme plan and was not coupled with by overall physical structural plan laying down detailed land use patterns. Nor was the plan directed towards generating resources by development and exploitation of urban lands. These aspects were expected to be subjects of subsequent exercises in continuation.

The Delhi Experience. In any case it would appear that the preparation of a physical master plan must precede a programme plan. Any detailed preparation of a programme plan has to be a continuing exercise. Twenty to twenty-five years is too long a period for prescribing specific tasks and working out operational and budgetary details. In the Delhi Work Studies for the Master Plan substantial programme details were chalked out but action programme could be indicated only for a five year period and it was presumed that detailed periodical exercises will be undertaken for integrating the various sectoral programmes which were set out for an estimated population of 46 lakhs for urban Delhi during 1961-81.⁸

⁸*Delhi Master Plan—Work Studies*, op. cit, pp. 404-415.

<i>Major Heads</i>	<i>Estimated costs (in crores of rupees)</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1. Land Acquisition and Development	200.00	67,000 acres out of which 9,200 acres during 1961-66.
2. Housing	195.00	Out of a requirement of 74,5000 units 1,50,000 were to be Government Housing, 1,10,000 public housing for squatters and Low Income Group and the cost of 485000 private housing estimated at 450 crores is not included. Target to 1961-66 were 1,25,000 out of which 75,000 in private sector.
3. Community facilities	45.00	Includes Education and Health but not special hospitals
4. Slum Improvement and Redevelopment	40.00	
5. Public Utilities	90.00	Water supply at 50 gallons per capita daily sewerage and augmentation of Electric supply to 4.58 lakhs K.W.
6. Transportation	50.00	Excluding rail works and new airport.
7. Recreation	10.00	About 25,000 acres including open air theatres, swimming pools, library and museums and afforestation.
8. Rural Development	5.00	
9. Government Offices	30.00	
	665.00	
Add 10 %	66.50	
Total	731.50 or Rs. 732 crores.	

The Delhi Master Plan took stock of the existing situation in various sectors and on the basis of a fairly detailed study indicated the tasks to be performed and their programme perspectives were fairly close to those of the various sectors (particularly for 1961-66 for which various departments had their own Third Plan proposals)—which would provide the necessary urban infrastructure for growth for the economy. *Detailed and coordinated programme planning with phasing and priorities, formulation of a series of projects and schemes, their execution with due consideration of time, place and sequence, and a system of monitoring review and feedback were tasks that were yet to be undertaken on a continuous basis.* The planners emphasised that “between the conception of plans and their realisation lie a vast number of managerial activities” and they warned that statutory provisions might be misunderstood as suggesting that the Master Plan is self-interpreting and self-fulfilling. For this they suggested a sound planning administration and recommended that the Delhi Planning and Development Authority (which DDA could be renamed) be enabled to know the contents of the plans of action-agencies. At the very least this would entail that certain projects submitted by the local authorities and Union Ministries and departments for inclusion in the National Five Year Plans for the Territory be referred first to the Authority. “The Master Plan envisaged the Delhi Planning and Development Authority to be a central over-seeing agency for plan implementation acting on behalf of the Government of India.”⁹

The Delhi Development Authority (DDA) is the planning authority under the Delhi Development Act, 1957 and section 6 requires the authority “to promote and secure the development of Delhi according to Plan”. In practice, however, the DDA assumed the role of being only one of the action agencies responsible for land development and since 1967 for housing within limited jurisdiction expressly notified as “development areas” under section 12 of the Act. Even in the matter of enforcement of the Plan its powers are exercisable only within the development areas. In other areas the DDA’s role was confined to the modification of byelaws of the various local authorities to bring them in line with the standards prescribed

⁹ *Delhi Master Plan—Work Studies*, op. cit., pp. 432, 436 and 438.

in the Master Plan. The local authorities regulate all development within their areas and any failure on their part can be brought to the notice of the Administrator for appropriate action. On the positive side there is no inter-sectoral planning or programming. The DDA has done commendable work in its own field in developing about 15,000 acres of land and constructing 25,000 houses but its own plans could never even be coordinated with, for instance, the Water Supply and Sewerage and the Electric Supply Undertaking of the Municipal Corporation. These and other agencies have gone on with their own plans making reference to Master Plan where convenient and necessary. Even their intra-sectoral planning and programme priorities lack metropolitan perspectives. A comprehensive document has been reduced to be a mere land use regulatory plan. Programme planning stopped where it was left by the planners in 1962.

The Calcutta Experience—represents the first attempt in this country at any large scale coordinated and detailed programme/project planning for metropolitan development. A close study of the working of the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority (CMDA) since it was set up in 1970 under a special Act, would be an object lesson in the process and pitfalls in inter-sectoral and intra-sectoral programming with their *inter se* priorities and time sequence of execution as also the evaluation review techniques for revision and/or re-scheduling of programmes in the light of field experience.¹⁰ The Basic Development Plan (1966-86) (BDP) was conceived as pointed out earlier, not as a comprehensive Master Plan as that of Delhi but only as a perspective plan with emphasis on some basic concepts to guide more detailed planning and programming by the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organisation (CMPO). The BDP also laid down some programmes for immediate action to arrest the deterioration in Calcutta's urban infrastructure. The CMPO prepared two detailed sectoral

¹⁰For an excellent account see A paper on "Evaluation of Metropolitan Development Programme" by S. K. Roy, Director Planning and P. K. Saha, Dy. Director (CMDA), and another paper on "Urban Development Levels and Criteria—An Introspection Calcutta" by M.S. Maitra—presented at a Conference on Urban Development organised by Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta, Sept. 27-28, 1974.

programme plans for Traffic and Transportation and for Water Supply, Sewerage and Drainage for which a special statutory body—the Calcutta Water Supply and Sewerage Authority had been set up. When the CMDA appeared on the scene late in 1970, there were over fifty local authorities and Government agencies with an assortment of projects at various stages to be carried out in the Calcutta Metropolitan District (CMD), apart from those listed by the CMPO in BDP Water Supply, Sewerage and Transportation plans. The provision for CMD Programmes in the fourth plan for West Bengal totalled Rs. 42.88 crores. The first steps taken by CMDA as the statutory coordinating authority for the area was to put together about 120 projects in various sectors to be executed during 1970-74 as follows :¹¹

<i>Programmes</i>	<i>Rs. (in crores)</i>
Water Supply	29.62
Sewerage and Drainage	40.78
Garbage Disposal	4.83
Environmental Hygiene	7.15
Traffic and Transportation	35.05
Traffic and Other Schemes	14.69
Special Projects (Health, etc.)	12.20
Housing and New Area Development	17.58
Bustee Improvement	10.00
Organisational, Debt Servicing, etc.	5.76
	<hr/>
Total	177.66
	<hr/>

The likely actual expenditure under the Fourth Plan was estimated at Rs. 150 crores only.

The financially, budgetary and organisational aspects are being examined later in this paper. Here the question is whether the CMDA had the opportunity to go into the relative merits and mutual priorities of the various projects and to re-order

¹¹K. S. Sivaramakrishnan, "Organising a Metropolitan Development Programme : the Calcutta Case" (Mimeo).

its investment options with reference to a broader strategy and overall plan. The ultimate impacts of the projects being undertaken for the improvements in the physical environment of CMD were taken for granted. The emphasis was on pooling together and coordination of all programmes with mobilisation of funds from various sources—State, Central and local. Project selection was made on the subjective assessment of immediate needs. "But such a selection process not only overlooks the need for an overall inter-sectoral assessment, it even neglects the evaluation of priorities between infra-sectoral schemes."¹² Questions have also been raised about time phasing and sequence of investment such as

"Could the investments on long-gestation, disruption-prone system-bound sewerage and drainage projects be deferred till water supply and transportation facilities had made sufficient headway? Was it possible to take a selective approach for the improvement of sewage disposal and drainage facilities? Could there be an alternative use of the resources thus blocked? Similarly could the prestigious programme for establishment of 4000 additional hospital beds in massive structures be temporarily shelved and in lieu thereof could a substantial part of the resources be diverted for more penetrative nutrition, health education and preventive programmes?"

.... Does the institutional mechanism granted to CMDA permit choice of alternative investment decisions beyond the so-called 'mandate' for overhauling the 'core' facilities. The fundamental issues involved are—whether the Calcutta development perspectives envisage a package of policies, programmes and projects mutually complementary to each other and tackle the problems in their totality.¹³

CMDA did not have any high level mechanism within the organisation for project/programme planning in the overall context.

"This would have enabled concentration on spatial, sectoral and metropolitan structure plan and to provide the

¹²Roy and Saha *op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹³Maitra, *op. cit.*, p. 26-28.

necessary statistical and conceptual inputs needed for project planning. Metropolitan development programme depends to a great extent on good project planning to maintain the tempo of the implementation programme. The development programme cannot succeed unless the project planning functions are directly interlinked with the next higher level. Planning activities are to be organised as a continuous feedback process in between the total planning group and the implementation group. This highlights the need and importance of performing the total planning functions within the Development Authority's institutional frame, so that a well-coordinated and integrated built-in system for planning and implementation can be established."¹⁴

The paper goes on to raise five basic issues which could be relevant to any programme of urban development:

1. What should constitute the metropolitan development programme? Since the metropolitan development objective provides wide range of activities from economic development to augmentation of specific facilities, a demarcation and delineation of items of action would be necessary.
2. What should be the level of infrastructure to be covered in the metropolitan development programme?
3. What should be the rationale in determining intra-sectoral project priorities? What are the tools and techniques available?
4. What should be the rationale for determining the inter-sectoral project priorities?
5. What should be the basis for programme evaluation and selection as well as for capital budgeting? Is it possible to evolve any technique?¹⁵

It will be interesting to take a comparative view of the Delhi and Calcutta Programmes. The Delhi Plan gave a dominant place to land acquisition and development as well as housing with corresponding inputs in respect of public utilities and transportation. In the case of Calcutta the lion's share went to

¹⁴Roy and Saha, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 10.

Water Supply, Sewerage, Drainage and Transport without any corresponding strategy for land development and housing that could absorb this investment and make it self-supporting. On the other hand these and other projects raised fresh problems of maintenance which would have to be the responsibility of on-going local authorities. The Calcutta programme was expenditure oriented rather than directed towards generating returns by exploiting land as a resource. In Delhi, however, the actual programming and execution by the DDA was confined to Land Development and Housing, which were not only self-liquidating but helped to generate fresh resources. The investment in other sectors was left to other agencies mainly the municipal corporation and Government departments, without the Master Plan frame—and in either case without coordination with the DDA programmes—which ultimately did affect the capacity of DDA to further extend its activities or to ensure the timely provision of public utilities for the areas developed by it. There is thus a case for the combination of the two strategies in an overall metropolitan setting

The Ludhiana integrated programme 1974-79 with overall perspectives up to 1990-91 divides it in two sections: (a) for Land Acquisition and Development, and (b) for "Services and Amenities in the existing municipal area as follows:"¹⁶

	<i>Outlay 1974-79</i>	<i>Overall Outlay</i>	<i>Respective Agencies 1974-79</i>
(Rs. in Lakhs)			
<i>Section A</i>			
Acquisition & Development of New Areas			
(1) Residential	4325.50	14307.35	—
(2) Commercial	977.05	1771.35	—
(3) Industrial	—	—	2652.84
Total Section A	5302.55	16078.78	2652.84

¹⁶*Ludhiana Project*, op. cit., pp 4-7.

	Outlay 1974-79 (Rs. in lakhs)	Overall Outlay	Respective Agencies 1974-79
<i>Section B</i>			
1. Water Supply	652.17	N.A.	—
2. Sewerage			—
(i) Capital Works	575.30	1245.00	—
(ii) Loans for EWS	83.78		
3. Storm Water Drainage	324.75	N.A.	—
4. Roads	1096.63	2236.63	—
5. Transportation	—	—	119.00
6. Environmental Improvement Scheme	100.00	250.00	—
7. Removal and disposal of Refuse	10.00	62.00	—
8. Mechanical Composing	263.83	N.A.	—
9. Misc. including recreation	124.00	188.00	—
10. Housing	—	—	10680.00
Total Section B	3231.26	4222.09	10799.00
Grand Total A + B =	8533.81	20300.79	13451.84

The above division follows the traditional pattern of tasks undertaken by the Improvement Trust and the Municipal Committee. The provisions for water supply (45 gallons per capita daily) Sewerage, Drainage and Roads in Section B relates to the existing city and for new areas the estimates for these services are stated to be included in Section A. How these various works will be brought together for overall coordinated programme planning and phasing for execution of projects with appropriate priorities and inter-sectoral linkages is not clear. Nor is the role of the planning and Development authority to be set up under the proposed legislation. Moreover there is need to distinguish between the two levels of programmes of large investment and development of urban infrastructure requiring different technologies and techniques of financing, and revenue

works of current improvement, maintenance and distribution of services to be met out of municipal income and grants.

BUDGETING AND FINANCE

The budgeting and financing practices in Delhi and Calcutta have followed entirely separate patterns due to different perspectives of planning and programme development as well as the character and objectives of the two organisations. Planning, programming and budgeting should be continuous inter-linking process to ensure the best utilisation of available resources with necessary coordination between the various sectors of a total operation—in this case the development and management of urban infrastructure.

It may be possible to identify three clear stages in this regard :

- (a) the preparation of a long-term comprehensive development plan with 20-25 years perspective;
- (b) five year integrated programme and development budget with operational details and priorities as far as possible; and
- (c) drawing up and sanction of an annual operating programme and budget within the five year frame.

The annual programme budget will have to be drawn up after an evaluation and review of the progress made in different sectors each year followed by an overall five yearly assessment within the framework of long-term plan.

The first stage was appropriately accomplished in respect of Delhi but not of Calcutta. The Development Plans prepared for various other cities have reflected in varying degrees, depending upon the association of sectoral agencies and multi-disciplinary groups, the development targets and rough estimates based as a land use plan over a time-span of 20-25 years. But there the process came to a stop in most cases. The cities and urban areas were not involved in the process of planning till the Third Plan and efforts made in this direction since 1962 to draw up five year programmes and integrate them with the state and national sectoral plans has been marginal.

Calcutta Metropolitan programme stands out since 1970

as the singular example of unified budgeting in stages (b) and (c) mentioned above. As indicated earlier the CMDA was set up as the coordinating and funding agency for all programmes and projects in the Metropolitan District. Ten government departments, nine statutory authorities and over 30 local bodies were budgeting, planning and executing projects in their respective sectors. CMDA emerged virtually as the secretariat finance department in its entire jurisdiction for all fresh investments. As regards stage (a) of long-term planning the CMPO continued to hold charge, leading to certain problems of inter-relationship and relative neglect of this field¹⁷, limiting the exercise to five year programme planning and annual budgeting.

As stated above the CMDA's first task was to draw up the Fourth Plan programme raising the provision for CMD from Rs. 42.88 crores in State Plan (1969-74) to Rs. 150 crores, requiring more funds for financing the programme, which had to be a joint exercise between the Central Government, the State and the CMDA in terms of taxation grants and loans. There had been no octroi in West Bengal and simultaneously with the Act to set up CMDA, the Taxes on Entry of Goods into Calcutta Metropolitan Area Act, 1970 was adopted and half the proceeds were assigned to CMDA partly to provide the basis for market borrowings of 7 to 8 crores a year. The resources initially identified for 4 year of fourth plan were as follows:¹⁸

	Rs. (in crores)
State Plan	42.88
Savings from Entry Tax	12.00
Market borrowings	30.00
Special Central Loan	20.00
Grant for Bustee Improvements	8.00
Total	<hr/> 112.88 <hr/>

¹⁷K. Biswas, "Relating Metropolitan Planning to Development: The Case of CMPO & CMDA", *Management in Government*. Oct.,-Dec. 1974, p. 286.

¹⁸Sivaramakrishnan, *op. cit.*

The results were soon reflected in the increase in expenditure on various projects in CMD from Rs. 3.14 crores in 1969-70 before CMDA to Rs. 37.87 crores in 1971-72. More resources were expected to be identified as the progress of work picked up.

While the annual budgeting within the revised fourth plan programme became the responsibility of the CMDA, most of the works continued to be carried out by the original agencies excepting the Bustee Improvement Programme, because the different projects involved varying expertise, many projects had originally been drawn by the respective agencies and they had the necessary manpower which would otherwise be not fully utilised. CMDA's task was to provide funds, supervise and coordinate. A system of quarterly review was introduced in which the Central Ministries, the Planning Commission, State Government and other agencies participated thus setting into motion a process of progress evaluation and programme perspectives requiring additions and alteration and paving the way for formulation of further proposals for fifth plan period, which made a provision of Rs. 150 crores for Calcutta in the State Sector. The concentration of this responsibility of budgeting and finance in a single authority gave CMDA its unique character occupying the central place in all programme formulation and also for negotiating funds for various projects with the World Bank, an important source of finance.

The Delhi Union Territory has as large an area as the Calcutta Metropolitan District. Strictly it has a unified Delhi Administration with the Administrator (Lt. Governor) as the head and the jurisdiction of the Delhi Municipal Corporation extends to the entire Union Territory except about 16 sq. miles each under the New Delhi Municipal Committee and the Cantonment Board. The Delhi Development Authority's jurisdiction is confined to development areas and its functions to land development and housing. There is a five year plan of the Delhi Administration which has reflected the plan items of the municipal corporation (which included Water Supply, Sewerage, Electricity and till recently City Transport) and other authorities except the Delhi Development Authority, which have had its independent programmes as indicated later. The Delhi Administration Plan could be a more comprehensive

metropolitan plan with necessary coordinating and programming mechanism but in practice it has been no different from the plan of any state Government, with annual sectoral plan exercises to be reflected in the budgets of the respective agencies. But unlike other States, the local municipal authorities five year plans came to be tied up with the plans of the Delhi Union Territory on a sectoral basis for grants and loans but strangely enough it is the DDA's programmes that did not get formulated on a Five Year Plan basis, nor did these form part of the plans of the Union Territory. There are some explanations for it.

DDA operates the scheme of Large Scale Acquisition, Development and Disposal of Land on behalf of the Government of India and it is a Non-Plan Scheme. There is a separate distinct Budget (Nazul Account-II) for it and the provisions in this budget depend on the amount of funds committed by the Government of India to its Revolving Fund, (Rs. 12.31 crores) and the amount generated by the annual operation of land development and disposal—a figure of about rupees eight to nine crores a year, which is reflected in the Government of India's budget, as the Revolving Fund is part of the Consolidated Fund of India. This inflexible feature is hardly appropriate to a developmental capital budget for a rapidly growing urban area. The other major growing activity is Housing which forms a separate annual budgets for construction of houses as the basis of registered demand spread over year to year. The DDA collected over Rs. 10 crores as advance deposits on registration by prospective house or flat owners. This fund is supplemented by loans raised from the market but largely from LIC and HUDCO with guarantee of Government of India. The DDA has raised about Rs. 15 crores as loans in the last 8 to 10 years for this purpose. This has enabled the DDA to build up on an average an annual housing construction programme of Rs. 10.12 crores a year with a fast growing budget. Thus DDA has been adopting more or less the traditional annual budgetary practices.

By and large the pattern of budgeting for urban development in the various urban areas or for Improvement Trusts or Development Authorities is an annual exercise based on loan funds available or the resources generated by the respective agencies.

Unless adequate funds are allotted for urban development any long-term or short-term budget exercise becomes difficult. On the other hand it is equally a fact that in the absence of detailed programme planning within the framework of development plans the requirements of urban development have failed to be reflected in the State and Central Plans.

Credit facilities for urban development would also depend on the nature of the projects to be financed. These projects can be divided into the following categories:

- (a) Projects which are remunerative or self-liquidating such as Land Development or Housing,
- (b) Semi-remunerative investments, e.g., water supply, sewerage and social housing, and
- (c) Non-remunerative activities such as slum improvement and other deficiencies in municipal amenities.

Loans, seed money or revolving funds have relevance only in respect of the first category. In respect of (b) and (c) the shortfalls have to be covered by grants and subsidies, tax revenue or the surplus funds generated by projects in category (a). It is, therefore, necessary to fully exploit available local taxes, which can not only meet normal revenue expenditure but provide the cushion for financing of loan for non-remunerative capital projects.

There has been considerable discussion about the importance of *Revolving Fund* as a strategy for financing urban development. The R.F. set-up in Delhi consisted of an initial earmarking of Rs. 5 crores and a subsequent Rs. 7.31 crores to finance acquisition and development of land making a total of Rs. 12.31 crores transferred to a personal ledger account and the receipt from land disposal were ploughed back into the account setting in motion a continuous process of inflow and outflow. It has been seen that the turnover was actually of the order of about 100 crores in 12 or 13 years, an annual average of about 70 per cent of the initial seed money. The growth and revolving capacity of the fund depends on the margin of surplus and the speed of the operations. Nevertheless the size of the seed money has to be substantial to match the extent of the problem. In Delhi the Revolving Fund with its present limitation has become a static instrument, while it needs more seed money even as loan to undertake the gigantic task of the

Capital City's planned expansion. It is desirable to provide for long-term loan spread over 25 years allowing the authority to use the money many times over and at the same time divert a small part of the surplus generated fund towards repayment and to contract more loans to rotate the money. Under the present system of Delhi's Revolving Fund no loans can be provided but the Central Government can commit more money to the Fund, which has been found to be more difficult than to advance a loan repayable in suitable instalments.

The Ludhiana programme expects to revolve the money fast enough to undertake a Rs. 53 crores land acquisition and development programme with an initial seed capital of Rs. 2 crores in the first year repayable alongwith interest in five years. The entire programme of Rs. 85.34 crores for 1974-79 is expected to be carried out with loans amounting to Rs. 11.78 crores and a subsidy of Rs. 2.70 crores apart from generating enough resources for execution of programmes in the subsequent years. The assumption would appear to be rather too optimistic and the period of repayment of loan too short in the light of Delhi experience.

ORGANISATION AND LEGAL TOOLS

The Delhi plan pointed out that planning development is a sensitive job. To be capable of implementation, a plan has to be a programme, it cannot be a map or a blue-print. It is the intervening activities that have to occur between the statement of goals and concrete results that comprise the essential substance of a plan. "The organisation whose sole duty is to carry forward these activities from start to finish must be set up to coordinate and negotiate and complete."¹⁹ The Calcutta BDP also emphasised, "Implementation depends on the existence of a suitable organisational framework for planning and action as aspects of a single developmental process"²⁰

Nevertheless recognition of the importance of a well equipped planning and development machinery has taken a long

¹⁹ *Delhi Master Plan—Work Studies*, Vol II, pp. xxiv and 427.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 121.

time to emerge. In any case the greater emphasis has been on planning and most of the Town Planning Legislation in the country has been directed towards that end. Implementation has two aspects :

- (a) to regulate and prevent any development against the physical plan frame; and
- (b) to carry out development programmes, though all the processes of plan formulation, and its implementation according to a phased programme of coordinated synchronised projects alongwith ongoing evaluation and feedback as a continuous process.

The regulative approach may work for sometime but depends ultimately on the success of the second order of operation with adequate speed to match rapid growth. That this has not been possible so far calls for a systematic approach to this vital matter.

The mere setting up of a planning and development authority is not enough. It is necessary to build up processes and inter-related methods and techniques of programme formulation and project management discussed earlier. Organisation is not just a statutory body but the management of all stages of planning, programmes, projectisation and allocations for execution as a totality. There are four broad issues that have been debated often in this context :

- (a) Should plan preparation and plan implementation be entrusted to separate agencies;
- (b) Should all the sectors involving urban development be put under one authority to ensure effective implementation;
- (c) What should be the instruments for enforcement; and
- (d) What should be the relationship between planning and development organisation and other local authorities.

There has been a general apprehension that if the preparation of plans and their implementation are entrusted to the same organisation, the basic essentials of the plan are likely to be compromised and mutilated. On the other hand, there has been the contention that agencies not responsible for implementation are likely to be extravagant and unrealistic in planning. The problem has been the connotation attached to the term planning—which is usually interpreted to mean the

long-term conceptual physical planning, which is different from programme planning and precise project planning. It is obvious that preparation of a comprehensive long-term development plan is a multi-disciplinary exercise involving a variety of agencies and requiring substantial studies and research. This will always require a very high level organisation. Moreover there are levels of planning—the State, the region and local. On the other hand, the danger of isolation of planner from the variety of ground level agencies on the one hand and the basic needs of the citizen on the other, cannot be ignored. There has been more recently a tendency to have combined planning and development agencies as is evident from the organisation of metropolitan development authorities and the Tamil Nadu Town and Country Planning Act, 1971 is an instance of town planning legislation combining planning and development authorities at the regional, metropolitan and local levels.

Calcutta is the example where implication of metropolitan planning and development tasks has gone the farthest. CMDA started as a coordinating and budgeting agency leaving the precise project design and execution to a variety of agencies. Gradually the need of greater initiative on the part of CMDA in such matters as materials planning, managerial inputs, removing bottlenecks and expediting the execution of works became evident. An amendment of the Act has placed the Improvement Trusts of Calcutta and Howrah as well as the Calcutta Metropolitan Water Supply and Sewerage Authority under the umbrella of the CMDA which is undertaking more and more tasks of implementation and execution. Even the question of higher level planning which include physical and perspective planning as well as programme planning is being entrusted to CMDA. Within five years the CMDA has developed administrative and managerial, planning and development organisation far ahead of any other metropolitan agency in the country. This, however, calls for careful shifting between the various levels of functions as well as building up of separate wings with a variety of expertise that metropolitan dimensions call for. It is in fact a level of Government embracing activities performed by a number of State Government agencies.

While CMDA was conceived primarily as a programme coordinating, finance and budgeting agency, the Madras

Metropolitan Development Authority started largely as a plan coordinating body setting out directions of development leaving the detailed project formulation and execution to such agencies as the Tamil Nadu Housing Board, Tamil Nadu Water Supply and Sewerage Board and the Corporation of the City of Madras. There is also the Madras-Chinglepet Regional Plan with which the metropolitan plan has to be interlinked. The institutional developments in this context need watching.

Comprehensive planning, programming for five year plans for inter-sectoral coordination, and actual execution have to be viewed as stages of the same process interacting and influencing review of decision at all the levels. It will be desirable to have a comprehensive planning and five year programme higher level body with executing agencies alongwith annual budgeting for such specialised functions as land development and housing, water supply and sewerage, electricity, transport, etc., with review of annual plans budgeting by the overall planning and development authority.

Enforcement of plans have been eluding the city planners all these years. This is largely due to lack of necessary provisions of law or the appropriate machinery combining technical expertise with vigilance. By and large enforcement has been left to local authorities. It will be desirable to have a separate unit for what may be called regulatory implementation under the overall directions of the higher level planning and development organisation, making use of the field local authorities as far as their organisational and technical capabilities permit. The factor of local pressures cannot be ignored in maintaining the integrity of land use plan. But above all a comprehensive town planning law is an essential condition, which has yet to be fulfilled in far too many cases.

Lastly, there is the question of the role of municipal and other local authorities, which are the representative civic authorities charged with the delivery and maintenance of community services and amenities. No metropolitan structure can ignore this basic frame as it is here that taxes have to be raised and it is only by improving their capabilities that the potentialities of property taxation can be exploited for the maintenance of the urban infrastructure built up by the development agencies. The tendency in many countries is to make them part of the larger

metropolitan or city regional government organisation by having second tier viable yet small enough units to ensure effective maintenance and delivery of services with adequate scope and mechanism for citizen inter-action.

2

Goals for Urban Planning with
Reference to Programme

Several years ago when I was wrestling with the preparation of the Comprehensive Plan for Philadelphia in the United States I was first confronted with the question of goals. The question arose, not in the internal planning process, but when a graduate student, preparing his doctoral dissertation, placed a tape recorder before me and asked me to set forth our planning goals. I considered it a frivolous question. Our goals are self-evident I said: better transport, better housing, more useful open space, more employment, lubrication of the difficult problems of the city's adjusting itself to changed circumstances, all these and more were what we were driving at—and these were self-evident.

Some time earlier, when a pilot plan, the antecedent of the comprehensive plan, was presented to a group of planners, Professor Charles Haar asked me who our client was. I was indignant. The public, I replied, was our client.

I have always been uneasy when confronted with the question of goals—much as most of us are uneasy when confronted with questions of basic principle.

Yet I could perceive the importance of goals in an operational situation. Prior to the Philadelphia exercise I was associated with Dr. J. Douglas Carroll in the preparation of a metropolitan highway plan for the Detroit Metropolitan Area. This was a highly rigorous exercise in which for the first time the role of land use and of household size and household income were quantified in terms of traffic generation. With projection of land use, traffic requirements in volume, in direction and in trip length could be estimated. We never considered goals. The plan for an effective expressway system

was our task.

Yet I realised some time later, and still dimly, that our masterly presentation could simply overwhelm the lay audience. How was the technocrat, armed with IBM printouts and isoline maps to be challenged? Only, I realised by being forced to verbalise his goals.

In 1961, the first goal oriented plan in the United States, the plan for the Washington National Capital Region was published. It was a disappointment for the goals were so general that they did not really come to grips with the issues of the metropolis and its citizens. Let me quote them:

1. A broad range of choice among satisfying living environments.
2. A broad range of employment opportunities.
3. An ample range of opportunities for participation in the decisions that shape the development of the region.
4. Efficiency in the use of land.
5. Efficiency in the transportation of people and goods within the metropolitan area.
6. A healthful urban environment.
7. An environment which is visually satisfying, and which combines harmoniously the best contemporary expressions which those of a rich and valuable heritage.
8. A living environment which affords a clear sense of place in all sections of the metropolis.¹

Understanding the need for goals statements, I was still uncomfortable with the foregoing attempt. It was only when I came to see that goals to be meaningful, and translatable into programme, should be conceived and stated in terms of a particular clientele. Haar's question finally fell into place.

For years we made plans that were "in the public interest". But which public? Obviously there are several publics. Each one is a potential client. Only when we have identified a public, a client, can goals begin to approach specificity. And let me now shed the term goal, with which I am still uncomfortable, for the more modest word, 'objective'. For objective is both a

¹ The National Capital Planning Commission, National Capital Regional Planning Council, *A Policies Plan for the Year 2000*, *The Nation's Capital*. 1961, p. 28. I have omitted the sub-paragraphs under each goal statement.

more modest word and connotes the greater degree of specificity which I think is needed.

And let me transfer these lessons which I have been so slow to learn, to the Indian scene.

A primary requisite of planning is that it should look current reality and future probability in the eye. Perceptions of the present and visions of the future should be unclouded by illusion or delusion.

What is the current urban reality and, at least for the foreseeable future, the probability?

The current reality is that most urban citizens are poor. In my judgement the probability is that the poor will increase as a proportion of total population in urban areas. If the urban economic machine were capable of absorbing the in-migrants by providing job opportunities, then the future probability I foresee would be wrong. But there is little evidence to support such a more optimistic view.

If the poor represent half of the current urban population, then they constitute in sheer quantity a primary client.

We may then set down a series of objectives for his clientele.

1. We must increase urban job opportunities and help the poor avail themselves of such opportunities.
2. We must undertake to provide the poor with a minimum acceptable living environment.
3. We must provide a set of social services that are available to and tailored for the poor.
4. We must help the poor understand the power of their voice in the democratic process.

These objectives are still very general. But even at their level of generality they set planning and programming tasks that do not appear in most Indian urban plans.

The first objective recognises the primary role of employment. But employment is not something that is conjured up nor something that happens if X acres are reserved for industry. Nor something a local government can significantly influence. Planning and programming must proceed on several fronts simultaneously, *e.g.*:

1. One of the criteria for industrial location decision at state and national levels must be the relative unemployment among different urban areas.

2. New migrants and the untrained urbanites already in place must be made employable through training programmes.
3. The programme must include an element of entrepreneurship, a potential for self employment.
4. The informal sector must be better organized to deal and bargain with the formal sector, etc.

Plans and programmes for increasing employment must take first place on any priority list.

But the poor to a large degree live in bustees, or jhuggi jhompris, or chawls. Even when employed (and unemployment is, according to one Calcutta survey, no higher among bustee dwellers than in the city as a whole) their living conditions are simply unacceptable. Therefore the second objective, providing a minimum living environment. Examples:

1. A continuous supply of potable water.
2. A system of sanitary latrines.
3. A drainage system.
4. Paved and lighted lanes.
5. A modest amount of open space.

This is not as simple as it sounds. Some hut slums were laid out many years ago for industrial workers, as in Calcutta and Ahmedabad, but because the poor had no voice in the city, public services were not provided. Yet the layout is often basically satisfactory. Laying of drainage, provision of water, paving of lanes can make a major difference in living conditions.

But where the hut slum is a recent squatter colony, as in Bombay and Poona, and parts of Ahmedabad, for example, the 'solution' is not so easy. Perhaps lanes of adequate width have to be carved out, and water and sewer lines laid therein. In other circumstances perhaps the slum dwellers have to be removed to a new location where sites and services are provided. But this is not easy either because most available vacant land is on the urban fringe from where transport costs to jobs are high.

The point of this is that the problems are varied and complicated. A simply conceived bustee improvement programme will not work everywhere. Given an objective, the means or method for achieving it must be specifically worked out for

each category of slum.

The third objective I have noted is to make a set of social services available. But these have to be specified in terms of this particular clientele. For example :

1. Health services available through clinics easily accessible in the neighbourhood;
2. Health services that emphasize health education and preventive medicine; and
3. Health services that help people to use the system, etc.

And the same can be said of education. Not just 'free compulsory education for all children through age 14, "but, more specifically:

1. Work related education;
2. Education that is sensitive to family needs for children's time;
3. Education that has external incentives, food and clothing, for example; and
4. Adult education that is built on substantive adult needs, literacy in a job potential context, for example, etc.

And under this third objective is encouragement of programmes generated and executed by the people themselves.

These kinds of specific objectives one does not see in urban plans in India. Probably the Basic Development Plan for Calcutta and CIDCO's plan for New Bombay come closest—at least they reflect a reasonably detached look at the current reality and future probability and their objectives (a term deliberately used by both agencies) approach specificity.

But in neither case are the poor singled out as a clientele and in neither case are objectives, therefore, framed in terms of needs of that clientele.

But I hear a small voice saying that most of us are physical planners and only a small part of what I have been saying involves physical planning. To which small voice I reply.

First, urban planning requires the capacity to use all the strings on the sitar—economic, social, political, physical. In a given situation for a given clientele the mix will be different—the harmony to continue the figure of speech. It is the positive interaction of the several aspects of planning that is required. That is what integrated planning is all about.

Second, even if we do restrict ourselves to physical planning,

I think we must recognize that most plans do not respond to the needs of the poor. In fact, in many cases the physical plans are biased against the poor.

For example, with the exception of the Plan for New Bombay, traffic and transportation plans and programmes give priority to the automobile. Public surface transit gets no priority, and pedestrians, rickshaws and handcarts are relegated to what street space remains. Sometime we delude ourselves that we give first priority to public transit. But if that is the case, why do we not ban private automobiles in central Calcutta and Bombay in the peak hours? In the melee of the peak hours, whom do we ban? We ban the handcart and the rickshaw. Do we ever widen footpaths and reduce cartways? No, we widen cartways and reduce footpaths or green strips. It is true that an underground rapid transit is under construction in Calcutta now, but whom it serves we shall see later in this paper.

No, I think even our physical plans are made for a middle and upper class clientele, a clientele which, in my judgement, is decreasing and will continue to decrease as a proportion of urban population.

In terms of the poor, there is one further point. Even if they were not numerically dominant in the urban situation, they represent a clientele to whom public planning should respond for the following reasons. Even in this socialist and planned economy, at the local level most conflicts are resolved in the market place. And in the market place the cards, by definition, are stacked in favour of the economically strong. When conflict cannot be resolved in the market place, or such a resolution is manifestly unfair, we resort to public intervention. Even then, political power more often than not, lies with the economically stronger segments of society.

The poor then, by several measures, represent our primary clientele. Objectives in their interest must be sufficiently specific, and plans and programmes devised to attain such objectives must be sufficiently specific, that we can evaluate them objectively. For the state of the municipal fisc and those that supplement it are so exiguous that we cannot afford to permit ineffective programme to continue.

But the poor are not our only clients. If they were, employment possibilities aside, the identification of objective and the

definition of programme would not be particularly difficult.

An important clientele are those (lower?) middle class who have reasonably secured employment but whose incomes are only a few notches above the poverty line. These people, in economy anywhere, ought to be able to live a reasonably tolerable life. Do they? In a tight and inadequate housing market their housing choices are severely circumscribed. They scramble in an overcrowded education (non) system for places for their children. Their health services are disjointed. They have an insufficient water supply. They live with a generally unhygienic and inadequate drainage system. For many the journey to work is harder work than work itself.

These are important clients. Without them the economic machine would not run. Yet we do not provide adequately for them.

In 1971, Messrs. Kingsley and Kristof, using materials and ideas generated over the years in CMPO, put together a housing programme for metropolitan Calcutta. What did they say?

Among several characteristics of the metropolitan housing market they noted.

*"At current incomes only a very small minority of CMD households can afford the economic rent for new pucca housing as offered in today's market. It is estimated that the lowest 46 per cent of all CMD multi-member households can afford to pay no more than Rs. 30 per month for housing and the next 33 per cent can afford no more than Rs. 75. Only the top 7½ per cent can afford a monthly housing payment of more than Rs. 150. Yet the economic rent of almost all new pucca housing produced recently is greater than Rs. 159."*²

Why is that? What kind of economy is it that does not provide a continuously employed worker with sufficient wherewithal to pay for decent housing?

The answer to such a question is long and involved—shared or redundant employment, the large labour force compared to the smaller number of jobs, the institutional structure of an economy

²G. Thomas Kingsley and Frank S. Kristof, *A Housing Policy for Metropolitan Calcutta*, March 1971, p. I-2. (Mimeo).

inherited from a colonial era, etc.

These are fundamental questions of economics which I am not qualified to answer. Yet I think they are fundamental questions in urban development. For urban development is neither an end itself nor an evil to be avoided. Urban development is one of the means of national development. One important way of looking at cities is to define their role(s) on the national development trajectory. But that is the subject of a separate paper.

In this paper let us simply note that a large proportion of our reasonably securely employed people live in highly constrained and largely unacceptable circumstances. Our concern at their level of existence is not simply humanitarian and empathetic. We are also concerned that these members of society who make the economic machine run should live in circumstances that enhance, rather than depress, their capacity for productivity.

Let us therefore suggest the following objectives for this important clientele:

1. An adequate stock of modest but acceptable housing.
2. An acceptable journey to work.
3. An assured supply of potable water.
4. Adequate sanitary drainage and waste disposal.
5. Education for children through the secondary level.
6. Preventive as well as curative medical and dental care.
7. Opportunity for cultural satisfaction and advancement.
8. Opportunity for sports and recreation.
9. Mobility—socially and spatially.

These are unexceptionable objectives. It is putting them in programmatic terms that is difficult.

One such attempt is the Housing Programme proposed for Metropolitan Calcutta by Kingsley and Kristof. They note:

The Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority should take the lead in establishing a Large-scale Housing Production Programme during the Fourth Plan period. The major emphasis in this programme should be on the provision of hire-purchase housing on a low-subsidy basis for middle and lower middle income groups.

It was observed that there exists a potential effective demand for new housing that currently is not being met. The

low level of housing output in the past decade relative to the existence of a reasonable ability to pay for housing among many families indicates that some relatively minor adjustments could achieve large changes in new production. That is, if government can overcome some of the supply barriers noted earlier and thereby reduce the monthly payment required of the consumer, large numbers of families can be housed with only a modest infusion of public resources. A key incentive for this approach is the provision of an opportunity for families to purchase their own home.

The desire for home ownership is great among CMD families, many of whom pay less than they could afford for rental accommodations. The techniques required include:

- (a) Institute cost savings in housing production by several means: Reduce space standards in relation to those now typical for pucca construction in the CMD. Use more economic forms of housing (such as the row house) and simplify unit plans. Maximize the use of plentifully available local construction materials in combination with modern methods of industrialized house production. Take advantage of economies of scale possible through large-scale production.
- (b) Take advantage of economies of scale in land development as well. Also use densities averaging 60 units per net acre for new residential areas—higher than the densities proposed under many current government schemes, but still capable of providing a quite suitable living environment. Utilize more efficient site planning to reduce the amount of non-saleable land in new developments.
- (c) Ensure a flow of mortgage funds from the Life Insurance Corporation and the Housing and Urban Development Corporation at much more reasonable terms than are available in the current market, as is consistent with the intentions behind CMD Fourth Plan allocations.
- (d) In high cost locations only, provide a small subsidy to reduce the interest rate from 8 per cent for LIC loans or the $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for Centre guaranteed State loans down to $5\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

- (e) Again, in high land cost locations only, cut the price of publicly developed housing sites, not by outright subsidy, but by a long-term deferred interest loan.
- (f) Use aggressive marketing efforts to disseminate information about the availability of mortgage loans to eligible families, build model houses in new areas, and generally increase publicity about the programme.

The major purpose behind the hire-purchase programme is not simply to provide more satisfactorily for middle income groups. It also is the most efficient way (in terms of resource use) to significantly increase the quantity of housing production *per se*. As middle and lower middle income families move into a new home provided by this programme they will leave behind vacant housing units which can then be filled by other families, probably of lower incomes. The vacancies created by the moves of these families are in turn filled by yet other families. By this process, through a chain of turnover, many families including the poor are given the opportunity to improve their housing conditions."³

Another is the excellent statement in the Plan for New Bombay:

"It is further desired that every family living in New Bombay shall have a dwelling of its own, however small, and if pucca construction is not possible, then made of temporary materials. Apart from ensuring that each family shall have access to a round-the-clock potable water supply, good sanitary facilities, availability of power and access to the city school system as well as to common recreational facilities in the area, an important consideration is that each family shall have sufficient security of tenure on its plot of land and, if it cannot afford a pucca dwelling, to encourage it to improve its temporary dwelling to a more and more permanent type of construction."⁴

Just as housing has proved to be an intractable problem in all developing countries, so too, to a lesser degree, has transport. But whereas a house is a house or a flat, difficult indeed

³G. Thomas Kingley and Frank S. Kristof, *op. cit.*, p. 1-4.

⁴*New Bombay, Draft Development Plan*, October 1973, City and Industrial Development Corporation of Maharashtra, Ltd., p. 18.

to finance, the object is clear—a house. But in transport, transport is a suburban railway, an intra-urban rapid transit, a tramway, a bus, a taxi, an automobile, a rickshaw, a road, etc. In transport let me quote again from the Calcutta and New Bombay Plans :

Calcutta—"The transportation system is one of the chief instruments available to Government for arresting the deterioration that now threatens the CMD and for guiding growth in the directions desired. Railways, major highways, mass transit facilities, river transport and air transport are major determinants of industrial and residential development. It is essential that vigorous action be taken to create a modern transport system that will provide rapid, safe and economic movement within the metropolis and connect it effectively with its immediate hinterland and the rest of the nation. The advantages of each mode of movement—rail, road, mass transit, river transport and air transport—should be utilised and the modes efficiently integrated."⁵

New Bombay—"The transportation system is crucial in determining the life style of people. Jobs and residence are to be located in close proximity so that commuting time could be saved and used for creative purpose. The mass rapid transit system and the area developments are being so designed that walking distances to the transit system do not exceed one kilometre for most users and bus stops are conveniently located."⁶

The difficulty with the Calcutta statement is that it does not identify the several clients for the several modes. But, you may say, that is self-evident. But is it? The Calcutta Rapid Transit System will carry, it is estimated, 1.5 million person trips daily by 1983. Yet those approximately 800,000 people will be paying over a rupee for their rapid transit travel. For many of them there will be the additional costs of bus or tram to the rapid transit station.

At the initially estimated cost of Rs. 140 crores, it was determined that "—a 32 paise per passenger will cover all costs

⁵*Basic Development Plan, Calcutta Metropolitan District 1966-1980, Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization, December 25, 1966, p. 111.*

⁶*New Bombay Draft Development Plan, op. cit., p. 18.*

including debt service charges in a purely financial sense.”⁷ At a 30 paise level the subsidy required will be Rs. 1 crore annually.⁸ Those are not unreasonable figures. But the capital cost estimate has now risen to Rs. 200 crores. On a strictly proportionate raise, the cost per trip would rise to 52 paise. But this is probably low because replacement costs will also rise, and probably maintenance costs as well. Thus my earlier figure of over 1 rupee per person for a two-way trip. Is this reasonable?

The tram and state bus fares average about 13 paise, which means a deficit of 10 paise for buses.⁹ If, for illustration, the buses were put on a self-sustaining fare of 23 paise, and if, say, one half of the rapid transit riders had to take a bus to the rapid transit stop, the cost per trip would be 75 paise, or for the daily journey to and from work, Rs. 1.50. If such a person works 20 days a month, then his monthly transport cost would be Rs. 30. At this price who benefits? Or to use our earlier terminology, who are our clients? I suspect that even those clients who are securely employed but at lower wage levels would either be priced out of the rapid transit market or would have to sacrifice something else in their monthly budget.

Let me turn the question into other terms. For each client group there is a set of objectives. Although they are mutually supporting conceptually, they are competitors for scarce capital and operating funds. And this is further complicated by the competition between different client groups.

Let me suggest that there are three levels of this objective-client-programme relationship.

One is the sub-objective within a major objective. An example is investment in rapid transit versus investment in buses and related street improvements. What are the relative costs? What are the benefits? To whom do the benefits accrue? Since benefits accrue to many, how are they distributed?

A second level is intersectorally within a client group. The housing-cum-land-development programme proposed by Kingsley and Kristof for Calcutta amounted to Rs. 28.46 crores for Fourth Plan period to produce 38,500 dwelling units. Of this

⁷Metropolitan Transit Project (Railways), *Calcutta Mass Transit Study, 1970-71 Dum Dum to Tolly Gunj*, Calcutta, p. 349.

⁸*Ibid.* p. 348.

⁹*Ibid.* p. 343.

Rs. 5.86 crores would be subsidy and Rs. 22.60 crores would be loan.¹⁰ For the Fifth Plan let us assume for the sake of illustration, an amount, or the production and sale of 77,000 units for Rs. 56.92 crores, say Rs. 60 crores, over the period 1972 to 1980. Would the lower middle and middle income population of Calcutta accept a lower cost rapid transit system, or even simply an improved bus system if 77,000 housing units could be produced ?

A third level is intersectorally across client groups. Approximately Rs. 15 crores has been spent on the Bustee Improvement Programme, touching the lives of perhaps 1,000,000 people. But the allocation for this year is only about Rs. 1.5 crores. I would assert that the 2.5 million bustee dwellers would prefer an accelerated programme of bustee improvement, investment in health and education, and in employment assistance to an investment in a rapid transit system few of them could afford to ride.

There are other client groups of course. There is the upper middle income group and there are the wealthy.

And there is the economic machine and its several constituent parts, ranging from large scale industry through middle and small scale to the informal sector.

One of the aspects of Indian planning with which I am most uncomfortable is its restrictive land use control. This should be exercised selectively, not across the board. It should be exercised selectively in geographic terms (on major streets, at major interchanges, in historic areas for example) and it should be exercised selectively in social client group terms. An example of the latter is the high rise apartments being built in both Bombay and Calcutta. In Calcutta, which I know better, there should be requirements for setbacks, for automobile parking, even perhaps there should be annual quotas for such building in order to reduce the radically increased pressures on public facilities such as streets, water supply, drainage and power.

But for the most part the upper middle and higher income groups can take care of themselves. They are not clients in the sense I have used earlier in this paper. They are, by virtue of their power in a market place economy, strong. Restrictions

¹⁰ *A Housing Policy for Metropolitan Calcutta, op. cit.*, Table 20.

should be placed on them in their own interest, in the interests of the larger and poorer community and in the interests of the future community.

The economic machine is a different kind of client. Taken together (that is, excluding its separate parts for conservation of time and space) it has overarching metropolitan system needs. Objectives can be stated clearly and quantified for support of this client group. And programmes related to such objectives can be devised. Primary among them is power. A close second is transport and communications. These needs will conflict with needs of the poorer human community both in terms of investment and in terms of displacement.

One of the purposes, therefore, of setting forth objectives clearly in client group terms and of devising programmes in such terms is to identify where conflict will occur. For urban planning involves centrally the resolution of conflicts between client groups. And the first step in resolution of conflict is clear statement of the objectives of each party to the conflict. Where conflict is not apparent in statements of objective, it will become clearer when objective is translated into programme terms. And if conflict is not apparent at that stage it will become explicitly clear when resources are allocated in a system where there are simply not enough resources to finance all programmes.

Such conflicts and competitions for resources are commonly resolved, for better or for worse, in the political process. A primary responsibility of the planner is to place these issues before the politician in as clear and unvarnished terms as possible.

The problems are enormously complex. We should not delude ourselves that they are susceptible to easy resolution. One of the purposes of stating objectives as specifically as possible is to provide us with reference points in this complex decision-making situation.

It should be noted of course that all issues of urban development do not array themselves in a competitive and confrontative manner. Everybody gains from a park—unless it displaces the poor—or takes a golf club from the rich—or withdraws land from the housing market. Everybody gains from new and productive employment—unless it pollutes the atmosphere—or requires new services of power, water and transport. Well,

most issues do then involve making choices in which some group gains and some group loses—and the elements involved are intricate and complex.

Let me try to pull these disparate threads together in some useful summary form—a set of propositions :

1. Goals are useful primarily when stated in the specific terms of an objective.
2. An objective must relate to the needs of a particular client group.
3. An objective to be useful must be translated into a time-space-cost programme.
4. Programmes can then be tested and evaluated for their effectiveness in meeting the stated objectives of a defined client group.

But urban plans do not consist of an accumulation of programmes for various client groups because both funds and urban space are limited : Therefore :

5. Objectives for a client group are frequently in conflict with objectives for another client group.
6. Objectives, therefore, clarify the areas of conflict.
7. Objectives also may be in conflict intersectorally *within* a client group.
8. Objectives may be in conflict intersectorally *between* client groups.
9. Such conflicts become more apparent when objective is translated into programme.
10. Such conflicts become most apparent when programme is translated into cost.
11. The urban planner should be clear as to the client group for whom he is defining objectives and framing programmes.
12. Currently and in the foreseeable future, the planner's primary client is the poor.
13. In framing programmes for the poor the planner must utilize economic, social and physical means in mixtures specific to each social and geographic case.
14. Close to this group, the planner must devise objectives and programmes for the securely employed who are inadequately served by public services and facilities.

15. The planner must devise objectives and programmes to advance and lubricate the urban economic machine.
16. Because objectives and programmes for these several client groups are inevitably destined to conflict, either spatially or in competition for scarce public funds, the planner is obligated to state his client, his objective and his programme in as clear terms as possible for more inclusive, informed and rational debate in the political process.

3

Goals and Strategies for
Urban Planning

CAUSATIVE FACTORS AS INTRODUCTION

Commentaries on our contemporary world are noisy with cataclysmic violence. This contemporary world of ours may be called many things by future historians—the Age of Space and Speed, the Age of Global War, perhaps, the Age of Larger Society, to count a few possibilities. One nomenclature the historians certainly will not forget to give this world, is the Age of Population Explosion. The ‘baby boom’ could not, perhaps, be put to a check in spite of genuine love and desire for ‘baby Austine’ on the part of a larger number of conscious communities of the world in lieu of babies. This windfall baby boom has enormously accelerated the pace of population growth of all over the world: the annual average growth between 1965 and 1972 was 4.1 per cent in Pakistan followed by 2.5 per cent in Bangladesh, 2.3 per cent in India and Sri Lanka, 2.2 per cent in Burma, 2.1 per cent in Indonesia, to take a few examples from some of the Asian countries, where more than half—57.1 per cent—of Earth’s population lives. Further, Europe with 472 million, accounts for 12.2 per cent followed probably by Africa (9.7 per cent) with 374 million, Latin America (8.0 per cent) with 309 million, the Soviet Union (6.5 per cent) with 250 million, and North America (6.1 per cent) with 236 million. Incidentally, with a little digression, this 57 per cent of Earth’s population that is concentrated in Asia consumes only 32 per cent of world’s food production, but that has entirely a different story to tell which is certainly out of the pale of the present paper.

This has, however, led to what is often termed as 'urban explosion' with the result that in 1970 Shanghai contained 10.8 million souls, Tokyo 8.7 million (1972), Calcutta 7.5 million (1971), Greater Bombay 5.9 million (1971), Delhi 3.6 million (1971) and Tamil Nadu 3.1 million (1971).

India's urban population was, in 1951, 60.2 million which rose to 100.9 million in 1971 recording a little more than one-and-half times increase in barely two decades. Again, in 1961, India had 2700 urban centres in all the six categories of classification which rose to 3,110 in 1971 suggesting that she had been able to add a fleet of 41 urban settlements annually. This is enormous increase indeed.

Urban Plans, however, are prepared for these 'urbanites' who happen to live in these urban settlements, though, also with an eye upon the nature and extent of floating influx of population that sometimes chokes the convenience of the 'polis'.

It is to be made sufficiently clear at the very outset that I have throughout this paper assumed parliamentary democratic set up as the background to planning. Obviously, under a totalitarian regime, many a planning problems diminish or recede to the background. In a country where extreme *laissez-faire* exists, planning may hardly be possible in any real sense.

PLANNING GOALS

The moment we talk of goals or planning goals; we always, though unconsciously sometimes, conceive them in normative perspective. In fact, all planning exercises are normative (what ought to be) as against positive (what it is) in content, and approach; they have a sort of prescriptive values, a regulative force, a norm. A goal-oriented plan, as it purports to be, should include a series of courses of action, action programmes, if any, alternative for effectuation of stated goals and objectives which, in turn, are based on an articulated process of end-reduction and analysis of the available data. Appropriate planning action cannot be prescribed from a position of value-neutrality, for prescriptions are based on desired goals.

But plans are positive, too: they go into the details of towns and cities as they are; their morphological contents, physical

anatomy, growth potentialities, propensity to accept infrastructural investment in additional doses, direction of growth, economic viability and the functions that they perform—are all analyzed and grasped with utmost positivity. In fact, this is one of the most important aspects of goal-formulation and of strategy—determination. Moreover, this part of analysis of the towns and cities, without having added to or subtracted from what they actually are, happens to be the cornerstone of plan preparation. This, all the normative considerations that go in for plan preparation, are actually based on this analysis in terms of positivity. Moreover, “in our most theoretical moods (positive) we may be nearest to our most practical applications” (normative).

Naturally, plans are then both positive and normative: they are conceived in terms of positivity, and come out with normative assertions. Positive, because they detail out the settlements as they are with utmost objectivity, and normative because, each plan sets forth some norms, standards; on the basis of the positive investigations that have already been done, gives a glimpse of what ought to be, sounding a note of prescriptive value judgement.

SECULAR URBAN EVILS

Towns and cities are living organisms, and if left to themselves alone, they tend to be problematic. They have partly been problem child of unplanned urbanisation which is an in-built process in all human societies, big or small; and partly the legacy of thoughtless industrialization. In fact industrialization and urbanization are twin-born. Our towns and cities are today plagued by myriads of problems and of varied nature and proportions: struggle for shelters amid acute shortage of housing, rampant street sleeping and squatting culminating into threat to law and order, unwieldy sizes, cancerous growth of ghettos and blighted areas, transportational bottlenecks, sky-rocketting prices of urban land, overcrowding, over strained services and civic amenities, unemployment often in disguised form, acute shortage of lung space, to mention a few of them. To magnify the magnitude of urban problems that have confronted our urban life by choosing only one indicator, namely; the shortage of lung space,

Birmingham with 1.1 million souls in 1961 had only 2 acres of public open space, a 1,000 Glasgo with 1.0 million had 2.85 acres, Cardiff with 2.5 million had 2.7 acres, and London with 3.1 million had about 2.5 acres a 1,000, of which only about a quarter could be used for playing fields. Seeing the problems of London, when it had only 5,00,000 population, Fletcher of Saltoun as early as 1703, declared, "I am of opinion. that if, instead of one, we had 12 great cities, so many centres of men, riches and power would be more advantageous than one. For this vast city (London) is like the head of a rickety child", Henry James, appraised this situation far better than most of the contemporaries when he wrote in his Journal, in 1881, "...It is not a pleasant place; it is not agreeable or cheer or easy..." Amid these urban problems of varied nature, and of peculiar dimension, the search for general goals having universal applicability in urban planning, is then to be compared with the search of a black cat in a dark room which is not there. Specific or local goal is, then reality. Yet, formulation of some general goals, such as; health and happiness of millions who reside in urban centres, provision of efficient transportation network, and of shelter, cannot be negated. In fact, man is the centre around which all planning exercises revolve. Moreover, towns and cities are of different sizes, forms and of functions, so are their problems, and consequently goals. Goals are, barring some general and ubiquitous ones, subservient to the problems: no two cities are alike so are their problems and the resultant goals. This, however, leads us to the discussion of some of the classical typologies of towns and cities, to which I would like to turn, though, of course, in very brief.

SOME CLASICAL EXAMPLES

Henri Pirenne has divided cities into two major groups: (i) "political-intellectual centres", such as Delhi, Chandigarh and Peiking, and (ii) "economic centres", such as Bombay, Kanpur and Shanghai. Hoselitz, whereas, has attempted to classify them in broad categories of (i) "generative cities", and (ii) "parasitic cities", while R. Redfield and Milton Singer put them into (i) "orthogenetic", and (ii) heterogenetic.

The above classifications of Pirenne, Hoselitz, and Redfield and Milton, whatever terminologies to characterize a particular city they choose, are broadly based on city functions—administrative, academic and economic in terms of first two classifications and cultural in case of last category of Redfield and Singer—they perform.

But, significantly enough, forms of urban centres are also sometimes chosen for their classifications, as for example, 'linear cities'. (Soria Y Mata, and Patna), 'stellar city' (Naarden) which is characterised as 'bastard of all fortification arts', 'baroque city' (Versailles) of neo-classical period, and finally 'garden cities' (Letchworth, Welwyn, etc.) of Ebenezer Howard, in modern times.

Moreover, from the point of view of time-horizon also, cities can be classified, just as, 'classic city', 'medieval city', 'neo-classic city' and 'modern city'. Again, from the point of view of genesis, extent of dependence, they can perhaps be classed as 'nuclear settlement'—'mononuclear' and 'poly-nuclear', 'mother city' and 'satellite settlement', 'twin-city', and finally they can be put under a particular category simply because they are in different stages of growth and development, such as; 'eopolis', 'polis', 'metropolis', 'megalopolis', 'terannopolis', 'nekropolis', 'dynapolis', and finally 'ecumenopolis'. This really presents a cycle of growth and decay in the life of urban centres. They can further fall in the categories of 'eotechnic', 'palaeotechnic', 'neotechnic' or 'biotechnic', to count a few possibilities.

Thus, in this welter of these typologies, no uniform—which may be applicable to all urban settlements—goals can, however, be framed particularly when their ills differ so widely and so enormously, though, a few local goals, as remedial measures against the particular or typical problems, can be envisaged. The enunciation of universal goals of urban planning, may, then, be few and far between. Some of the goals set forth as remedial measures in connection with the stellar city—Naarden—were not essentially envisaged to magnify the goals meant for the linear city owing to its peculiar condition of hyper-linearity, for example. Further, the planning goal to develop the downtown area, fringe area or to arrest the growth of ribbon development or to devise urban corridors between the

polynucleated but mushroom growth of enormity or to encourage stasimorphy for obvious virtues that the process is endowed with, may be specifically important to a particular settlement or two or three settlements simultaneously. But the chances are rare. Yet, from the point of view of general goals, "every town should be designed in accordance with the character of its situation and the reasons for its existence".

STRATEGY-DETERMINATION

We have, so far, in this paper, assumed the prevalence of non-conflicting goals of urban planning, but this is highly utopian and unrealistic since the realms of planning are full of conflicting, rather cataclysmic contradictory goals. We want, for example, to eradicate the ghettos—the most sensitive and hyperdelicate issue of urban planning—without removing or disturbing the 'slum lords' or we intend to be successful, as planner without a firm faith in pluralism in planning, particularly in context of parliamentary democratic set-up that we have. Under this situation, the process of goal formulation is painfully slow and evolutionary in nature and reconciliation judiciously with conflicting goals may be considered as one of the most important strategies for urban planning.

Like goals, the strategies for urban planning may also be local and general in nature. Local strategies are associated with local goals as contained therein the planning documents, and have limited applicability, such as enunciated in Report on the Development Plan for Greater Bombay, 1964 or Greater London Plan, 1944 or the Plan for New York City, 1969.

However, there can be a ban of general strategies with universal applicability and approach as follows particularly in relation to developing countries where the resources are too meagre to be invested in this sector of planning:

1. Aim at strict physical and fiscal discipline;
2. Temper ambition with realism;
3. Emphasize phased development plan effectuation;
4. Devise corporate (plan formulation and execution by the same body) planning agency;
5. Bring about development through structure planning rather than through master plan;

6. Aim at a flexible plan;
7. Treat urban places as a system within larger systems;
8. Emphasize inter- and intra-spatial integration and also of functions;
9. Aim at a balance by narrowing down the gap of inter-settlement and inter-sectoral differences;
10. Pursue pluralism in planning, and finally;
11. Encourage people's participation at each level of planning processes.

These commandments in terms of strategies for urban-planning, however, need a little elaboration.

The strategies set forth here from 1 to 3 are, in fact, in context with the under developed or developing countries, for the financial resources at hand are too meagre here to invest them in this sector of planning; stress here is much more on economic planning in order to push the economy "into take off stage" with little realization that physical and economic planning is not at juxtaposition; complementarity is the keynote of such planning exercises. In the wake of their booming zeal and high morale to achieve the avowed goal of economic development, more ambitious plans are made, away from reality and pragmatism, caring least to know that what happens in terms of financial outlays if an additional, for example, subarterial road around the city is provided; the laying out of which can easily be postponed for the coming 15 to 20 years. This calls for a strict fiscal and physical discipline, tempering ambition with realism. One of the probable causes for such an anomaly in the domain of urban planning today is that in developing countries, a physical plan is seldom executed, and if fortunately executed at all once in 50 years' time, the proper review in terms of practicality of the plan is rarely done with the result that no planner is brought to public dock for clarifying his position in regard to laying out that subarterial road. In England, for example, if a colony is developed by an architect planner with so much of financial outlays; there is frequent get-together between the housewives of that locality and the architect-planner responsible for the design of the colony, and issues like, why a particular cupboard with such and such dimension has been provided in drawing room; why the tot-lot has not been provided at a particular cluster of housing and so forth, is freely and

informally discussed. The architect-planner is made socially responsible for and answerable to such lapses.

To augment the financial outlays, the emphasis has to be laid on phased development, though, of course, on priority basis. In the absence of such phasing or priority-oriented planning, there is likelihood of immense drain of scarce financial resources so vitally important for the developing nations.

With regard to establishment of a corporate planning agency, there are two schools of thought: one is against of such an agency advocates that since this becomes more than often a handmaiden in the hands of unscrupulous public officials who man the agency. And, therefore, believers in the school of thought prefer to remain in their ivory tower of studies and research only (plan formulation and non-execution) associated with urban problems and planning. Naturally, therefore, such planners remain largely unacquainted with the day-to-day practical problems confronting plan implementation, since they are the staunch upholders of the first process of the dichotomized planning processes in which plan preparation, studies and researches on the one hand, and simply plan effectuation on the other, are considered as having two separate entities. The upholders of the second school of thought, however, believe in corporate planning processes and they do not seemingly want to abandon the surgical operations for fear of patient's death. As a matter of fact, in England today, there is preponderance of corporate planning agencies. In England, particularly after the Town and Country Planning Act 1968, the development through master plan has reached its lowest ebb and in its place, there is the advent of the structure plan—a decision document—"which focuses attention on the authority's intentions to initiate, encourage and control changes in the area", mainly due to the fact that master plan preparation is a colossal work, and time-consuming as well. Owing to cumbersomeness of the master plan, and the effectiveness of the small decision documents (of course with appropriate maps and graphics) in the form of structure plan, planning through it has become so much prevalent in that country.

Moreover, flexibility is one of the added qualifications of such decision documents. Even if the desired goal is to bring about changes through master plan documents, it has to be

flexible, because a number of visible and invisible variables affect the master plan till its effectuation. Strategies from 7 to 9 are of special significance when plan preparation is at its inception stage. In fact, no city, it should be clearly borne in mind, is in a vacuum; it is a system within larger systems where inter-actions—economic, social and cultural—are at their helm. Planners are expected to conceive and foresee them in their entirety and right perspective. Many a failings of master plans are often attributed to this fact that the city is taken as having an independent entity, an amalgam of perfectly 'closed system', which is not the case; that the unland city interactions to be fully taken cognizance of, since the inter and intra-spatial and functional integration is one of the cornerstones for any development plan. Inter-settlement and intersectoral (primary, secondary and tertiary) differences have to be progressively narrowed down with a view to bringing about a balanced and healthy development.

Urban planning is as a means for determining policy. Appropriate policy in a democratic set-up is determined through political debates. The right course of action is always a matter of choice, never of fact. As one of the strategies of successful planning, planners should engage in political process as advocates of the interests of the Government and other communities. Intelligent choice about public policy would be aided if different political, social, and economic interests produced urban plans. Plural plans rather than a single agency plan, should be presented to the public.

And, finally, in nearly all projects the initial contacts are met with suspicion, hostility, and apathy. Naturally, from the very inception of planning activities, adequate publicity, with a view to winning out the people's apathy and encouraging participation, through mass-media, is one of the most effective strategies for successful plan preparation and implementation. At every stage of planning processes, people's involvement is to be ensured in such a manner of chain actions that the whole may appear to them as the part and parcel of their own needs.

Yet, in spite of all these plan preparation and strategies determination, we are increasingly tempted to talk tall, to pass legislations, to beat the drums for new policies—but never to act.

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4

A Management Framework for Effective Implementation of Urban Development Plans

INTRODUCTION—NEED FOR SOFTWARE IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT IMPLEMENTATION PROGRAMME

The last 3 to 5 decades of urban planning have been characterized by lackadaisical approaches (many times bordering on schizophrenia in dealing with tremendous population pressures), without adequate and effective mechanisms for performance oriented, timetargetted implementation in a coordinated manner. In addition, the lack of adequate control and feedback mechanisms and too much dependance on adhocism and *laissez-faire* (with consequent loss of benefits of effective administrative continuity and defeating the very purpose of planning) has brought chaos and very short-range solutions which, in the long run, may turn out to be counterproductive. The need, therefore, is for effective framework for monitoring, control and evaluating progress of implementation of urban development plans. This should be so designed that it is geared towards management of development rather than adapting outmoded administrative practices. Without effective management software, urban development plans remain merely as paper exercises or, where they are some how implemented, the original goals and strategies may be lost sight of. In the Fifth five year plan, for the first time, urban development plans are considered as part of national plans at the centre with states as implementing agencies. The proposal to spend about Rs. 250 crores for development of urban areas of national importance, as also the National Capital Region,

requires management framework for evaluating progress and exercising systematic coordination.

Master plans for towns, cities and regions have been drawn up with a view to achieve integrated development. However, the implementation of these plans is at best marginal because of lack of appropriate administrative machinery, lack of coordination among numerous development authorities and also financial budgeting.

The urban development process is extremely complex and demands a "Systems approach" in its solutions. Urban development process involves a number of manipulative components as given in Table 1. Continuously updated reliable data on these components would form the backbone of any development plan and its subsequent implementation. There is a limit, however, to the information which can be processed, maintained and conceptualised for regular reference and decision-making. So, only that data should be incorporated which has the requisite reliability, can be updated as frequently as needed, is critical to the decisions to be made and is understood and absorbed by those directly involved. It is called SDI (Selective Dissemination of Information) for decision-making/implementation/reviewing progress of development programmes.

It should be noted that each urban system is a complex of "Sub-systems"—work and leisure systems, transportation networks, housing, the structure and process of educational and other service activities, etc. The Administrative and Technical factors Interaction Matrix is given in Table 2 and can be of help in assigning relative importance to various factors involved, in implementation of urban development plans. In order to ensure that there are effective interlinks and coordination, organization of task force should ensure that these are effectively taken care of, in terms of extent of interaction as shown in Table 1.

In urban planning, implementation of plans, administration and management of urban areas (overall) as well as sectorally (e.g. water supply, housing, food and civil supplies, etc.) it is

TABLE 1

MAJOR COMPONENTS OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Components which when properly coordinated and interrelated
comprise a comprehensive Urban Development Plan

Economy (Growth consistent with social justice)

1. Economic Base
2. Economic Needs and Available Resources
3. Economic Development Planning
4. Economic Opportunities (with respect to backward areas and economically weaker sections of society)
5. Employment Potential
6. Industry (Location Theory)
7. Tourism
8. Occupational Structure

Population and Social Considerations

9. Population (Projections, Distribution, Migration)
10. Social Factors
11. Cultural Factors
12. Religious Considerations
13. Other

Transportation

14. Circulation Network (Roads)
15. Public Transportation (Mass Transportation)
16. Vehicular Parking
17. Other (Traffic Characteristics)

Natural Environment and Public Utilities

18. Topological, Soils and and Geology
19. Climate, Weather
20. Flood Protection
21. Cyclone, Earthquakes, etc.
22. Natural Resources Conservation
23. Pollution and Ecology
24. Public Utilities (Water Supply, Sewerage, Drainage, Power)
25. Land Reclamation
26. Other (Sewage Treatment)

Community Facilities

27. Schools
-

28. Parks and Recreation
29. Libraries
30. Police & Postal Services
31. Fire Protection
32. Sanitation and Public Health (Hospitals)

Land Use

33. General Land Use Plan
34. Land Value Analysis
35. Economic Determinants
36. Social Determinants
37. Other (Neighbourhood, Commercial, Industrial Uses, etc.)

Housing and Public Buildings

38. Housing (Mass low-cost housing)
39. Public Buildings (Institutional & Industrial Buildings)
40. Other (Slums & Squatter Settlements)

Aesthetic Values

41. Historical and Traditional values
42. Community Appearance
43. Billboard and Sign Control
44. Other

Administration and Legislation

45. Legislation
46. Public Administration (Metropolitan Development Authorities and Municipal Corporation)
47. Citizen's Feedback
48. Other (Political Aspects)

Financial Analysis Considerations

49. Optimal Capital Allocation and Utilization
50. Use of Central Aid Programmes by the States
51. Five Year Plans

Other Related Studies

52. Citizen Participation and Information
 53. Public Attitudes
 54. Urban Renewal
 55. Relocation
 56. Civil Defence
-

TABLE 3
INTEGRATED PROJECT MANAGEMENT—FACTOR COMPARISON OF CURRENT TECHNIQUES

<i>Factor for Consideration</i>		<i>PERT</i>	<i>CPM</i>
<i>1</i>		<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>
Installation	Training of personnel to operate and maintain.	Required extensive training of four or more qualified personnel.	Requires extensive training of three or more qualified personnel.
	Orientation of personnel concerned.	Considerable amount required; procedural manual usually necessary.	Brief orientation required.
	Records system required.	Extensive; tends to be complicated	Extensive
	Special requirements.	Outside consulting services are required.	Outside consulting services are required.
Operation	Up-dating	Voluminous input data required; but easily processed by computer	Considerable input data required; normally processed by computer.
	Monitoring	Very good	Good
	Need for computer	Ordinarily required, especially	Required.

Applicability for Planning and Scheduling	Outputs	cially with more than 100 events.	Computer tab runs : require group presentation.	Computer tab runs : requires group presentation.
	For Planning		Very good: networking presents all essential information.	Very good : networking presents all essential information.
	Cost schedule alternates.		Good	Very good.
	Provision for uncertainty in estimates.		Very good	None.
	Flexibility.		Very good.	Very good.
	Usefulness for allocation of resources.		Good	Very good
	Management summary information		Very good : available in variety of forms : adequate but complicated	Very good available in variety of forms, excellent for costminded management.
	Programme status and progress reports.		Good, but fails to show incremental activity progress	Good, but fails to show incremental activity progress.
	Cost information.		Good.	Very Good.
	Output Information			

1	2	3
Suitability for control of	Timeliness and quality of danger signals.	Very good.
	Availability of historical information.	Poor.
	Research projects.	Good.
	Development projects.	Good.
	Production.	Poor.
Usage to Date	Sub-contracting.	Fair.
	Research, Weapon-systems, and other large complex government projects, e.g. Polaris Project, Skybolt Programme.	Commercial industries, fields of construction, development projects, and new product introduction.

necessary to have a management by objects (MBO) approach. Evaluation of existing nature of state of affairs in each sector should be done in the nine aspects as indicated in the check list given in Table 4. This would be useful in identifying areas in sectors where improvements can be effected.

PLAN IMPLEMENTATION AND PROJECT MANAGEMENT

Urban Data and Information System

One of the important factors in effective implementation is that control mechanisms must be speedier than the process itself, or else it becomes ineffective. Hence, the need for data system.

Urban data and information system is a vital and integral part of urban management process. An extensive and efficient information system can help in policy framing, evaluating and making best possible investment and management decisions for various urban and regional projects and thus, improve the management process substantially. It helps in policy analysis and development. It is also known that the failure to implement any development project is due to inefficiency of administration and which can be attributed largely to lack of realistic data (which should be specifically designed for action/decision-making implementation and evaluating progress periodically).

Urban development projects are complex undertakings intimately connected with socio-economic, cultural and political factors. Generally, the control on the progress of these is collectively exercised by many departments. It is, therefore, essential to develop one integrated information system which gives insight into the totality of interactions that come into play in taking a particular decision and provide a timely feedback to various agencies involved to help them perform their individual functions effectively. In absence of a suitable information base, it is not possible to evaluate or control the performance against predetermined targets in terms of cost, time and output.

Urban information systems involve these important aspects:

- (a) data collection;
- (b) data storage;
- (c) data retrieval;
- (d) data processing; and

TABLE 4
EVALUATION CHECK LIST FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT PLANS
 (Also helpful for review of Urban Administration Mechanisms for development and management of change)

<div> <div> Evaluation Group ↓ </div> <div> Sectors ↑ </div> </div>											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		Public utilities (Water Supplies & Sewerage)									
		Tax & Economic base									
		Industrial development (small, medium, large)									
		Population characteristics & employment									
		Labour skills & training									
		Food									
		Health & community services									
		Education									
		Housing									

1. Resources (availability & utilisation)

- (a) manpower
- (b) machinery
- (c) finance

2. Technology

- (a) Present level
- (b) Potential level

3. Municipal Bye-laws and Law Enforcement.
4. Public Administration & Management Practices.
5. User Behavioural Pattern & Citizens feedback.
6. Organisation (line of decision-making).
7. Relation to neighbouring region
8. Information & Data Bank.
9. Future Planning.

Other sectors

10. Power & Energy
11. Transportation & Communication.
12. Waste Disposal (including pollution)

[illegible]

- (e) data presentation for different purposes (policy analysis and development).

Much of the information required for various decision-making processes is available piecemeal, without plan, without liaison or coordination and is haphazardly scattered in files of individual departments, institutions and agencies working in the urban areas. A great deal of time and effort is expended in extracting this information and presenting it in formats suitable for use by decision makers. The existing data from various sources should be processed and coordinated in the first instance, in order to get a holistic picture of present situation. This should form the nucleus of integrated urban information system in later stages.

Urban processes are dynamic in nature, and for the data to be of any use in decision-making, it must not be obsolete. Data obtained from conventional sources, in spite of tremendous input of available personnel, money and time, fails to fulfil this basic requirement. In conventional systems, the overall evaluation of the urban area is developed only as the end product of the process of accumulation and collection of masses of statistical data drawn from various sources. These are reduced to statistical averages which are then assembled on maps as patterns of distribution. Such distributions must be studied in relation to other similar patterns before an overall view is finally established. The process is necessarily a slow one, usually requiring a matter of years, and by the time the reports are ready for use, their value as basic information is lost.

Advent of remote sensing techniques, particularly panchromatic aerial photographs and high speed digital electronic computers have revolutionized the field of urban information systems. Photo-interpretation is especially relevant for monitoring purposes, an essential complement to any process control to serve as an early warning system and as a feedback loop. It is thus possible to update the information analysis frequently during stage of implementation and introduced into mechanism and inter-relate with data and analysis incorporated. The inherent value of these new techniques lies in their unique capacity for bringing together, quickly and completely, the total physical picture of the urban areas. The services of Indian Photo-Interpretation Institute at Dehradun, which has a cell for

Urban Area Analysis Studies, and the National Remote Sensing Agency being set up at Hyderabad, should prove useful.

Apart from the data collection aspect, the processing, storage and retrieval of data is equally important. There is no use collecting large amount of data very quickly, only to take more time in processing it. *Data collection is not an end in itself.* Tremendous output of data available from aerial photographs should be reflected in better decisions. Consequently, it is necessary to pay attention to alternative methods of data processing which fit minimal standards of analysis and presentation, but which can be produced rapidly and have a high degree of flexibility. Use of computer for processing large amount of data available from new techniques is thus obligatory.

The total material collected, processed and meaningfully inter-related analytically must be presented clearly enough for decision makers to use as their main means of evaluation and conclusion. One of the most important tools for presentation of space related data is the conventional map. However, with large amount of data, it is time consuming and not fitting the actual demand. Recently, a computer operated system called USEMAP has made its appearance in Holland. It uses a gridcell as its basic information unit and this makes it highly flexible. Processed information is used to generate a graphic representation by using computers. In USA computers controlled graphic display devices with several data variables have made urban models more easily understood and appreciated by decision makers. For "quick glance at" situation, the computer can be the setting up of information base for integrated development of rural, urban and regional systems as a part of a national information grid; for scientific, technological, economic and social information has been identified as an area of very high priority in the Science and Technology Plan. It is envisaged that the system will be implemented through a central agency (NISSAT) reporting to the Department of Science and Technology.

Policy Models and Urban Management System

Individual use of physical, financial and data systems models in urban planning and development has been done for some

time. The PROMUS system developed by the Decision Sciences Corporation is particularly interesting and a short description of this model here would not be out of place.

The Provincial Municipal Simulation System (PROMUS) consists of two major sub-systems:

- (i) Community model sub-system (CMS), which describes an existing or new community in terms of size, location, internal diversity, etc., and
- (ii) financial policy planning sub-system (FPPS), which provides the basis for computing the costs, cash flow, and return on investment of given development programmes.

These two models are connected through a policy implementation programme. The model outline is shown in Figure 1.

Programme Implementation

The basic outline of implementation programme should include:

1. Analysis of available resources vs. needs and demands of the projects.
2. Developing a phased, time bound implementation programme.
3. Feedback to incorporate necessary modifications.
4. Developing a continuing process.

A line diagram of the implementation process is shown in Figure 2.

A project is composed of series of activities directed to the accomplishment of a desired objective. Models for project should meet two conditions:

1. during the planning phase they should make possible the determination of a logical, preferably optimal, project plan, and
2. during the execution phase of a project they should make possible the evaluation of project progress against the plan.

Network techniques like CPM and PERT are firmly entrenched and have amply demonstrated their utility in management of development and other projects and yet they are seldom used earnestly by a majority of development authorities in the country. Table 3 highlights the salient features of these two

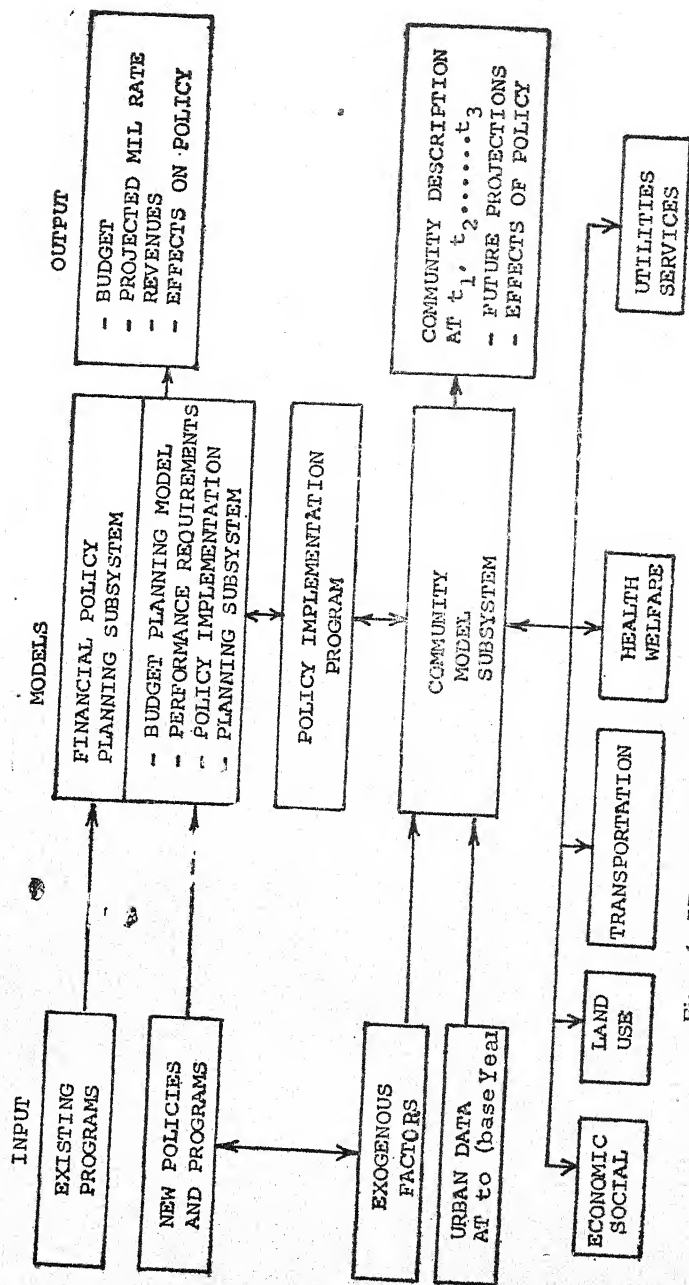


Figure 1—PROMUS SYSTEM (Provincial Municipal Simulation System)

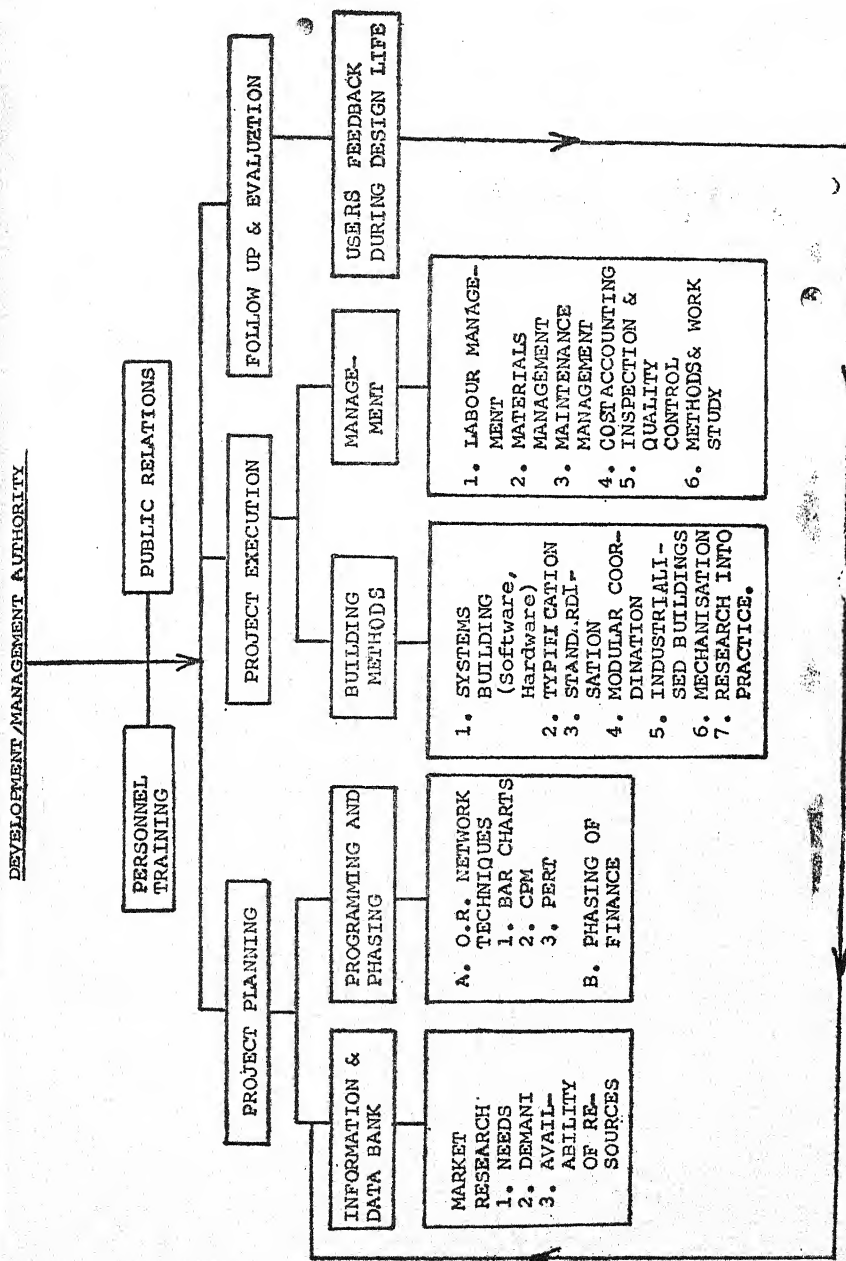


Figure: 2 - PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

techniques as aids in project management decision-making and implementation.

Financial Constraints

Lack of adequate finances is usually bemoaned by almost all development agencies irrespective of the funds made available. There is no way to generate funds out of thin air. Realistic planning reflecting available resources, coupled with planned implementation could alleviate unnecessary frustration and demoralization generated by non-fulfilment of grandiose schemes.

A basic problem plaguing development is the multiplicity of urban development authorities, without effective and planned coordination in implementation of urban development programmes. For example, in Bombay there is the Bombay Municipal Corporation (BMC) which looks after services for development, the City and Industrial Development Corporation (CIDCO), which is planning the new Twin City and undertakes reclamation of land; the Maharashtra Industrial Development Corporation (MIDC); and Bombay Metropolitan Research Development Authority (BMRDA). In Calcutta, we have the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority (CMDA), which is a financing and coordinating body and not a planning and development body; the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organisation (CMPO), which has formulated an urban and regional plan for West Bengal; the Calcutta Metropolitan Water and Sanitation Authority (CMWSA), which looks after water supply and sewerage aspects. In Delhi, some of the specific purpose authorities under Delhi Municipal Corporation (DMC) are the Delhi Electric Supply Undertaking (DESU) and the Water Supply and Sewage Disposal Undertaking the New Delhi Municipal Committee (NDMC) the Delhi Transport Corporation (DTC); and the Delhi Development Authority (DDA), which is implementing the Master Plan for Delhi.

SUMMARIZING REMARKS

In view of this multiplicity of development agencies there is an urgent need for a framework for effective coordination among all these bodies to ensure enforcement of accepted plans. These should be especially developed for each metropolitan area with

specific case study and application in a small test area to be later adopted to a large scale. To effect coordination and controls is required an organizational unit charged with this responsibility and so placed in the organisation's structure that it has access to the decision makers and the information required to carry out its functions. The unit must be directly responsible to those managers who accept or reject the plan itself and therefore have the authority to modify it in operation. In fact, the plan must provide for its own continuous improvement so that planning errors can be corrected as and when they arise rather than forcing us to live with them.

The figures and tables given in this paper may be developed as a "MBO" package for professionally managing urban development programmes, in test areas initially, and later on applied and modified on the basis of experience with the management software proposed in this paper.

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5 Organization for Urban Plan Implementation

The main objective of this paper is to highlight the importance of administrative planning to ensure implementation of master plans for the urban areas. It has been our experience that although technically sound master plans have been prepared by experts for many of our cities and towns, these plans in most cases remained paper plans. These have rarely been taken up for ground-level implementation. At a time when planned and guided urban development is being advocated by all serious-minded people, urban planning has remained at best a technical exercise by town planners. The real need today is to 'activate' these plans for which organizational planning is essential.

In this paper, the principles and methodology of organizational planning have been briefly mentioned. Then we proceed to apply these to an actual planning situation. For Jaipur urban area a plan is ready for implementation.¹ Having accepted the plan in its present form, what kind of organizational planning can be done to ensure its implementation? An attempt has been made here to answer this question.

ORGANIZATIONAL PLANNING

It is not often realized that organizational planning is an essential part of plan exercise at all levels—Centre, State and

¹ *Draft Master Plan for Jaipur*, Town Planning Organization, Rajasthan, Jaipur, 1972.

Local. The purpose of planning is to spell out the means, which if pursued methodically, would lead to changes from one situation (S1) to another more desirable one (S2). In city planning, it is customary to project the city's future population growth, examine the existing socio-economic conditions and the state of community facilities, and then visualize an optimum mix of activities, on which basis the land use pattern and other urban facilities are designed. In the course of planning exercise, it is vaguely realized that the plan recommendations are touching on a plethora of public and semi-public organizations. To cite a few instances, road and transport planning would mean designing, construction, maintenance, repair, widening, opening and closing of roads, footpaths and pedestrian crossings and movement, traffic lights, identification of different kinds of transport used on city roads and their provision and regulation, designing, maintenance and regulation of flow of traffic. etc. Planning for housing would have to take care of land acquisition, development, procurement of housing material, building bye-laws, and provision of a number of ancillary facilities such as electricity, water supply, drainage and sewerage, roads and streets, street lighting, etc. Housing would have repercussion on many other community facilities like schools, shopping centres, medical and health facilities and so on. Numerous other illustrations can be provided to show the ramifications of each important activity and the interlinkages between activities. Organizational planning involves taking stock of all institutions and organizations whose operations impinge on the provision of different kinds of activities as encompassed in the plan. This is the starting point of organizational planning, leading to the preparation of an "inventory of governments" in operation in the urban area.

Evolution of governments has preceded city planning. So, it is the usual spectacle to find in a large urban area a fairly big governmental crowd reminiscent of the days of *laissez-faire*, when the allocations of functions to different organizations were done mostly on *ad hoc* basis, depending on the exigencies of circumstances. Irrational growth of the city is matched by an irrational growth of governments in the pre-planning days. The task of organizational planning is to lend a rational administrative support to orderly urban growth as envisaged in a

master plan.

The structure of a 'rational' urban government can be designed on certain principles which are deduced from empirical situations. In the literature on urban government, three important principles have received consistent recognition. First, it has been observed that the physical jurisdiction of a government should follow the scale of operation of its functions and the technology involved in them. Thus, water supply of an urban area, if it has to be from a single source, say a river, should be administered by a single authority covering the entire area. Similarly, urban planning that blankets the entire urban area has to be undertaken from a single centre for the whole of the area. At the other end, primary schools or small parts that cater to the needs of a part of the urban area, can be administered on neighbourhood basis, as distinguished from citywide basis. This principle has also been expressed in terms of 'packagability' and 'spill-over'. A function is packagable within a defined physical area, if it does not spill over the area into neighbouring areas. In other words, its packagability depends on its ability to ensure its availability exclusively to the inhabitants of a specific area, and by implication to exclude outsiders from its benefit. The packagability or excludability criterion applies to a small local park or a local dispensary as well as to a large park or open space or big hospital. The former can be locally administered, while the latter has to be administered from a supra-local level overlooking the entire city. The other concept used in the reorganization of urban government is 'inter-service linkage'. The Royal Commission on Local Government in England (1969) expressed it as "a network of interwoven activities". In suggesting a complete overhaul of local government in England, the Commission based its recommendations on a number of principles. The 'interlinkage' principle is one of them. It was pointed out that area level services can be grouped into two broad classes: environmental services and personal services. In the former category fall land-use planning, transportation, housing, all forms of major capital expenditure in such fields as water supply and sewerage. Because of their close interconnection, these services should be considered as a package and dealt with from one centre of administration. The other kind of services, **personal social services**,

meant to serve the young, the old, the poor, the fatherless, the handicapped, the mentally retarded, etc., should, in the opinion of the Commission, be handled as a whole. These two kinds of services are also highly interrelated. As the Commission pointed out, "the social environment and the physical environment in which people lead their lives must be planned together".²

This line of thinking is based on inter-function complementarity. In the Indian urban situation also, it is often found that fragmentation of cognate responsibilities and distribution of their administrative charge among a number of authorities lead to disharmony in planning and implementation. When housing is given to one authority and water supply and sewerage to another, the two sets of functions become difficult to synchronize. This hinders effective planning and efficient implementation. The upshot of what has been said so far is that in organizing urban government, allocation of functions to different agencies and institutions needs to be determined on the basis of linkages between services.

Last, but not least, structuring of organization on the basis of clientele needs and promixity has been a time-worn principle of public administration. The basic idea behind it is that a function, needing for its successful administration, frequent clientele contacts and consultations, should be administered from a point closest to the prospective clientele. It is on this consideration, for instance, that primary education has generally been thought of, at least in the Western world, as a function that can best be administered from the local community-based governmental unit. Local streets and drains, small local parks, local libraries, collection (not disposal) of refuse—these functions are also viewed similarly as being best looked after from local neighbourhood areas. In fact, under the widely known two-tier system of local government in England and some parts of Canada, a range of local functions is decentralized and handed over to local area level units of government for administration because of the need for close collaboration between the consumers of these functions and their administering centres.

²*Royal Commission on Local Government in England (1966-69)*, Vol. I, Report, HMSO, London, 1969, Chapter VI.

PLANNING PROCESSES

Let us now turn to an actual urban planning situation in the Jaipur Urban Area. The procedure for the preparation of a master plan for the urban areas in Rajasthan has been laid down in the Rajasthan Urban Improvement Act, 1959. Under Section 3 of the Act, the State Government has to direct that in respect of land for any specified urban area in the State, a civic survey shall be carried out, and a master plan shall be prepared, by such officer or authority as the State Government may appoint for the purpose. For the purpose of advising the officer or authority charged with the preparation of the master plan, the State Government may constitute an advisory council consisting of a chairman and such number of other members as the State Government may deem fit. The process of preparation has been statutorily divided into two parts: preparing a draft plan and then finalization of the plan. Under Section 5 of the Act, before preparing any master plan officially, the officer or authority appointed to prepare it shall publish a draft of the master plan by making a copy thereof available for inspection and publishing a notice inviting objections and suggestion from every person before a specified date. Such officer or authority shall give reasonable opportunity to every local authority, within whose local limits any land touched by the master plan is situated, to make any representation with respect to the master plan. After considering all objections, suggestions and representations that may have been received, such officer or authority shall finally prepare the master plan.

Every master plan, after its finalization has to be submitted to the government for approval. The date of operation of the master plan starts with the publication of a government notice to the effect that the master plan has been approved.

The Government of Rajasthan, under a notification dated October 7, 1964, appointed the Chief Town Planner and Architectural Adviser to the Government to prepare a master plan for the Urban Area of Jaipur. The planning area (Jaipur Urban Area) was defined in the notification to include 125 revenue villages. By a subsequent notification on October 9,

1972, the Jaipur urban area was redefined to include Jaipur city and 131 villages.

The first notification also provided for an Advisory Council to advise the Chief Town Planner and Architectural Adviser for the purpose of preparation of master plan. The Minister for Town Planning was made the chairman of the committee and the Secretary of the Town Planning Department the vice-chairman. The Chief Town Planner and Architectural Adviser was Member-Secretary of the Committee. As shown below, remaining members of the Committee were drawn from the Government, the railways, the local military authorities, the Chamber of Commerce and Industries, the urban local authorities, and the citizenry:

Secretary, Revenue Department; Secretary, Finance Department; Secretary, Industries Department; Collector of Jaipur; Director of Agriculture; Chief Engineer, Public Works Department (Building and Roads); Chief Engineer, Public Health Engineering Department; Development Commissioner; Divisional Superintendent, Western Railway, Jaipur; State Commander, Jaipur; President, Municipal Council, Jaipur; Chairman, Urban Improvement Trust, Jaipur; President, Rajasthan Chamber of Commerce and Industries, Jaipur; and three eminent citizens.

Based on surveys made during 1963-65, a broad outline of the plan—much like an interim general plan—was prepared and presented to the Advisory Council at its first meeting held on June 7, 1965. During 1965-69, the planning operations were virtually held up for want of certain amendments to the Urban Improvement Act clarifying the role and powers of the Chief Town Planner. It seems that the Secretariat took nearly five years to make the necessary changes. Meanwhile, to collect fresh socio-economic data, studies were assigned to the University of Rajasthan. The final report out of the studies was available in 1969. As the planning was going on, certain clarifications were sought from the Civil Aviation Authorities regarding the airport. Similarly, the railway authorities were consulted about their properties.

After completion of the studies and surveys, the Draft

Master Plan was drawn up and presented before the Advisory Council on April 1, 1972. The Council has since approved of the draft plan. On October 31, 1972, the draft plan was published for inviting suggestions and objections from the citizens. From the date of appointment of the Chief Town Planner to prepare the master plan, it took eight years to formulate the draft plan.

More than 600 public objections to the provisions of the draft plan have been received. Currently these are being attended to and settled by the Chief Town Planner. It is expected that the draft plan will undergo some modifications in the light of the objections. The next step is to go to the Advisory Council to get clearance of the final plan. Then the Government has to give the seal of final approval, and the plan will come into operation.

IMPLEMENTATION

The draft master plan has been prepared by the professional town planners. It is essentially a physical land-use plan. Every planner has to subserve a set of abstract goals which are not certainly beyond questioning. For one thing, such concepts as 'healthy living', 'orderly growth', 'desirable pattern' and so on are not easy to define. To the extent there will be obscurity in the ultimate objectives of a plan, there is bound to be room for subjective interpretation of end values which will influence the projected design of the urban area and the operational details of planning. The draft master plan of Jaipur is not an exception to this.

Even if one does not question the objectives, the methodology and the contents of the plan, one would like to understand how the plan is planned to be implemented. In other words, what kind of administrative or organizational planning is needed to ensure ground level implementation of the master plan? Like all other master plans, the Jaipur plan does not seek to provide an answer to this question. Yet, the draft plan is remarkable for its candid confession that the clue to success lies in this direction. To quote the plan:

"Plans fail not so much because they are unrealistic, but because no conscious attempt is made to execute with

instant faith in its ultimate realization. Plan implementation involves activities, that translate the plan into action, that execute rather than conceive. Implementation is uniquely administrative and involves all the acts and actions by public authorities and private agencies, which are required to yield in definitive form the results which the sanctioned plan contemplates. Implementation requires both regulatory and development activities. Successful implementation depends on legal provisions, administrative organization, technical guidance and financial resources backed by active participation and support of the citizens, who should take a conscious pride in making their city more beautiful for living and working."

The draft plan underlines the need for coordinated efforts on both fronts—regulatory and developmental. In the urban area, two principal local authorities are the Municipal Council and the Urban Improvement Trust, none enjoying adequate powers of regulation over the entire planning area. Besides, there are other enforcement agencies operating in their own jurisdictions with the help of separate laws, rules and regulations.

Developmental activities are also distributed among a host of public agencies. The Urban Improvement Trust operates in its scheme areas, while the Municipal Council is mainly engaged in works within the walled city. As the draft plan points out, "there are numerous other agencies like Public Works Department, Public Health Engineering Department, Rajasthan State Electricity Board, Directorate of Industries, Education Department, Medical and Health Department, Rehabilitation Department, Rajasthan Housing Board, etc., who carry out their development works in the areas under their jurisdiction. The Railways and the Cantonment Board also undertake certain development works in the areas under their control. This has created considerable difficulty in proper coordination which is vital for successful implementation of any plan".

The draft master plan suggests, therefore, the setting up of one unified coordinating authority to regulate, enforce and integrate all development works in the extended Jaipur urban area. What will be the composition and functions of such an authority, how such an authority would be related to existing organizations—these and allied organizational issues are

obviously left to detailed consideration in some other forum. Another important problem to which the draft plan does not address itself is: how are the different activities proposed in the plan going to be financed. Like the organizational plan, the fiscal plan for funding the several tasks spelt out in the draft has gone by default.

JAIPUR'S ORGANIZATIONAL MAP

As one looks at the administrative and organizational structure currently supporting Jaipur urban area, one finds an amazing variety of agencies and institutions that constitute today the governmental crowd of the urban area. There are layers of history writ large on a number of them. The city is closely tied to the apron-string of State administration which is a legacy of the past. New organizations have been set up from time to time on *ad hoc* basis without caring much for their repercussions on already existing organizations. Each organization, with its narrow functional domain, has remained more or less an island unto itself. At a time when growing urbanization has been generating problems that need to be tackled through an intermeshing of organizations and deliberately induced interaction of functions, the urban area has in fact been faced with increasing balkanization created by insular agencies and institutions. The basic organizational problem confronting Jaipur urban area is: how to harmonize the operations of a welter of organizations and evolve a unified approach and a pointed organizational thrust to come to firm grip with the problems of developing urbanization. Jaipur has many governments, yet the city needs badly a government.

As a first step toward rationalizing the governmental cobweb in the Jaipur Urban Area, an effort has been made in Table I to build up a broad inventory of agencies and institutions operating within the urban area. The inventory seeks to present each function separately along with its corresponding administering authority and the physical jurisdiction of the authority.

This is not certainly an exhaustive inventory of government's operating in the Jaipur Urban Area. Many more State departments are involved in one way or the other in the area's

TABLE 1
A BROAD INVENTORY OF GOVERNMENTS IN
JAIPUR URBAN AREA

Function	Organization	Jurisdiction
1	2	3
1. Water supply	State Public Health Engineering Department	State-wide
2. Sewerage	—do—	—do—
3. Refuse Collection and disposal	Municipal Council	City-wide
4. Roads :		
4.1 National Highway	State Public Works Department	State-wide
4.2 District Roads		
4.3 Major City Roads		
4.4 City Roads I	Municipal Council	Walled city
4.5 City Roads II	Urban Improvement Trust	Scheme areas
(Besides, within the Railway colonies, Rehabilitation Colonies, Cantonment Board Areas and villages, the roads and streets are looked after respectively by the Railways, State Rehabilitation Department, Cantonment Board, and District Administration and Panchayati Raj Authorities.		
5. Housing	1. State Housing Board	State-wide
	2. Housing Cooperatives	City-wide
6. Hospitals	State Health Department	State-wide
7. Slum Clearance and Improvement		
7.1 Survey and Plan Preparation	State Chief Town Planner	State-wide
7.2 Execution	Urban Improvement Trust	Scheme areas
8. Education : Primary and secondary	State Education Department	State-wide

1	2	3
9. Transport	State Road Transport Corp.	State-wide
10. Street lighting	Municipal Council	City-wide
11. Building Regulations	1. Urban Improvement Trust 2. Municipal Council	Scheme areas Walled city
12. Scavenging	Municipal Council	Walled city
13. Museums and Historical Sites	State Archaeological Deptt.	State-wide
14. Stadiums	1. Rajasthan State Sport's Council 2. Municipal Council	State-wide State-wide
15. City Planning	State Chief Town Planner	State-wide
16. Land Development and Disposal	Urban Improvement Trust	Schemes areas
17. Rural and Conversion	District Administration	Revenue district
18. Forest Land	State Forests Department	State-wide
19. Parks		
19.1 Large Parks, e.g. Ramnivas Gardens	State Public Works Department and State Horticulture Deptt.	State-wide
(In their respective jurisdiction, parks are maintained by Municipal Council, Urban Improvement Trust, Rehabilitation Department, and Cantonment Board.)		
20. City Beautification	State Public Works Department and State Tourism Department	State-wide
21. Traffic Regulation	State Police Department	State-wide
22. Burial and Cremations	1. Wakf Board 2. Christian Association 3. Municipal Council	State-wide State-wide City-wide

governance. For instance, the Industries Department along with its specialized agencies such as the Industrial Development Corporation and the Minerals Development Corporation has been responsible for locating industries and minerals development within the area. The Agriculture Department does the site selection for market centres. One can go on multiplying such instances of State departmental impingement on the goings-on in the urban area. The organizational jungle has been made much more dense by the formation of a number of *ad hoc* committees under the aegis of the State Government, each dealing with a specific aspect of the city's problems. There is an omnibus committee of Jaipur's beautification headed by the Minister of Town Planning, other members being Secretaries and Heads of relevant Departments, the Collector, the Chairman of the Improvement Trust and the Administrator of the Municipal Council. A Traffic Advisory Committee under the chairmanship of Home Commissioner has been set up to look at the city's traffic problems. There is a sub-committee on the rationalization of bus stops, consisting of a representative from the city police, the Executive Engineer of the Public Works Department concerned with the city, a representative each from the State Chief Town Planner's Organization and the Transport Corporation. Another sub-committee on the regulation of hoardings has been constituted with the Secretary of the Town Planning Department as Chairman, and the Municipal Administrator, the State Chief Town Planner, the Improvement Trust Chairman, and the Director of Local Bodies as members. Aside from these *ad hoc* committees, many a time the Chief Secretary himself, because of his intimate knowledge of the city and keen personal interest in the development of the urban area, has been performing a unique leadership role by frequently calling meetings of different agencies to push through various schemes of city development.

From the organizational data presented above, it appears that Jaipur does not suffer from dirth of organizations. Rather there are for too many of them which is a crushing load for any physical space to bear. There are evidences of organizations working at cross purposes. To cite a few instances, regulation of building constructions which is vital for guided urban development remains a bone of contention between the Urban

Improvement Trust and the Municipal Council. Under the rules, ... "in the area within the jurisdiction of the Trust, whenever a building is proposed to be erected, re-erected, altered or added, a plan shall be furnished to the Improvement Trust concerned and a copy thereof to the Municipality concerned duly prepared in accordance with the bye-laws framed under Section 170 of the Rajasthan Municipalities Act, 1959.

The Improvement Trust shall scrutinise the plan so received and ensure that the plan is in conformity with the scheme in force in the area or does not run counter to any master plan under preparation for the area, and return the same along with its recommendations to the Municipality within a period of 30 days from the date of receipt of such plan.

If the Improvement Trust has approved the plans, the Municipal Board/Council shall sanction the same. If, however, the Trust has suggested modifications, the plans shall be returned to the applicant for carrying out the modifications in the light of the recommendations of the Trust, and for the presentation thereafter, directly to the Municipal Board/Council for sanction".

It is widely known, however, that the Municipal Council has been reluctant to submit itself to the authority of the Improvement Trust.

The Improvement Trust's jurisdiction does not cover all the peripheral rural-urban areas which are under the dual control of the District Administration and the Panchayati Raj authorities. Because of their urbanizability potential in the near future, those rural tracts need to be covered by planning law to guard against haphazard urban growth which it will be very costly later to rectify. Yet what is actually happening today is that under the Rajasthan Land Revenue (Allotment and Conversion of Agricultural Land into Residential or Commercial Purposes) Rules in Urban Areas, 1971, the Officer on Special Duty placed under the Collector of Jaipur has been sanctioning layout plans of cooperatives and individual members of the public in the peripheral areas, oblivious of the provisions of the Jaipur Draft Master Plan.

REASONS FOR DYSFUNCTIONALITIES

The dysfunctionalities in the present organizational arrange-

ment can be attributed to a number of important causes.

First, administrative responsibilities connected with one discreet function have, in some instances, been parcelled out among a number of agencies. In consequence, each agency has been dealing with a part or parts of a single function; and there is no one single integrated agency to deal with the function in its entirety. To cite an instance, urban waste disposal is entrusted to two agencies, *e.g.*, the State Public Health Department and the Municipal Council. Sewerage or liquid waste disposal is with the former, while refuse or solid waste disposal including night soil disposal is with the Municipal Council.

Second, Jaipur today suffers from both geographical fragmentation and functional fragmentation. The former is manifest in the presence of limited area-bound agencies such as the Urban Improvement Trust operating mainly in the scheme areas, the Municipal Council virtually bottled up within the walled city, and the District or Revenue Administration holding sway over the peripheral rural areas. To each area authority, the interdependence of parts of the urban area is of no consequence. Geographical fragmentation has been further complicated by functional fragmentation. As the inventory (Table 1) shows, innumerable agencies are engaged in the operation of one or more functions. The Public Health Engineering Department is concerned with water supply and sewerage, the Housing Board with housing and the Urban Improvement Trust with land development and disposal. Both kinds of fragmentation—areal and functional—have rendered integrated planning and development of the urban area unattainable.

Third, functions have their umbilical chords in the sense that there are groups of function each of which forms a distinct cluster because of their complementary nature. As earlier pointed out, the 'environmental services' including planning, housing, water-supply and sewerage, transportation and the like have to be looked at as one group of closely interlinked functions, and these need to be administered from one centre. At the moment, functional fragmentation in the Jaipur urban area which has historically overtaken urban development is an impediment to functional interlinking.

Fourth, from the standpoint of future urbanizability, the

villages at the periphery of the built-up areas are expected to play an important part. Since the direction of future urban growth will be toward the rural fringe, advance planning and protection is necessary to prevent unregulated urbanization in those areas. Fortunately, the Jaipur Draft Master Plan has been conscious of it and suggested appropriate remedial action. But, there is evidence to suggest that the district revenue authorities are currently functioning in a manner that is prejudicial to the interest of planned development of the peri-urban areas.

Fifth, Jaipur is more a State administered city than a locally administered one. Looking at the inventory of governments (Table 1) one discovers the involvement in the urban area of a number of State Government Departments and special authorities having State-wide jurisdiction. This style of administration seems to be a legacy of history. The State Government's interest in the capital city's orderly growth is understandable. But, its active operational involvement in city administration is not easy to justify. The interests and modalities of State Administration are very much different from those of city administration.

Lastly, the preparation of Master Plan of Jaipur Urban Area underlines the need for a comprehensive organization as an administrative outfit for it. Guided urban development cannot take place in an administrative vacuum. As the Draft Master Plan has rightly pointed out, the imperative need is to replace the present geographical and functional fragmentations by a unity of approach and administration. A focal organization wide enough in scope and comprehensive enough in approach has to be conceived to regulate and discipline future urban growth within a definite plan frame. This cannot be achieved in an administrative situation characterised by competitive and limited organizations.

ALTERNATIVE SOLUTIONS

To the designer of Jaipur's urban government there are a few alternatives open. These can be deduced from the three basic principles of organizational planning mentioned earlier, e.g., (i) scale and technology of functions determining their

physical jurisdictions, (ii) inter-services linkages necessitating services group formation, and (iii) collaboration and consultation between the services delivery system and the clientele to be served by the system. There is a fourth principle, more in the nature of the political ethic, that local government should have an elective basis. Rationalization of urban government would thus have to be done on some combination of the requirements of space, functions and clientele. A group of interlinked functions that have to be administered for the urban area as a whole can be identified from the inventory of governments (Table 1). These should be treated as a package and administered from a single centre. Planning, water supply and sewerage and refuse disposal, housing, land development and disposal, major roads, transportation, slums clearance and improvement, major parks, open spaces and museums—all these would go to form a package of central functions.

There are some other services that cater to purely local community needs as distinguished from total urban area needs. In this would fall local streets and lanes, local drainage, kindergarten and primary school, small local parks and gardens, local public libraries, street lighting, vaccination and inoculation, births and death registration, etc.

One way of organizing these two sets of function—city-wide and local—is to set up the well-known two-tier system of government on the federal principle. System-maintenance functions—those that make for the continuity, survival and development of the entire urban area—can be gathered up at a central level higher than the locality. The residual sub-system maintenance functions that are intimately linked to local community living can be entrusted to a number of lower locality level organizations.

The two-tier system of urban government presupposes an urban sprawl that tends to create a number of local communities in a city. Its other justification lies in minimizing the distance between local government and local community in an expanding metropolis.

The Jaipur Master Plan seeks to distribute the total population among eight planning districts each covering one to two lakhs. These planning districts may well serve the purpose of a second tier in a two-tier scheme of government. The

jurisdiction of each such district has to be delimited in such a way that each centres around a nodal market or local shopping centre, and a community of interests binds the population of a district sufficiently strongly.

A second alternative is to constitute one comprehensive government for the Jaipur urban area as well as its different parts on the basis of the unitary principle. This would obviate the necessity of having any second tier of organizations at the local community level. A unitary comprehensive government will have both kinds of functions—city-wide and local—within its ambit. The physical spread of the urban area will have to be carefully examined to understand if it will be necessary to have a second tier to facilitate governmental proximity to the consumers—the citizens—at least for certain kinds of purely local community functions. A comprehensive government has certain obvious advantages. Its strength lies in the possession of control over all activities irrespective of their use for the city as a whole or its different parts. In this system, the possibility of any friction between two-tier is eliminated. Also, it makes for economy in public expenditure, as the number of governments is drastically reduced. If 'management' does not pose any problem because of vast scale, a unitary comprehensive urban government is the strongest government conceivable. Through a scheme of administrative decentralization, it is possible to set up a chain of local area sub-units of the central unit which would serve as its outposts in the localities.

A third alternative is to set up a number of special purpose authorities each charged with some specific functions. Already, Jaipur has been having a few such authorities like the Urban Improvement Trust and the Housing Board. It is, however, generally recognized that a multiplicity of special purpose authorities inevitably create problems of functional coordination. And functional fragmentation is a known road block to integrated development.

At this stage, we may bring in the concept of representativeness of government. The problem can be posed thus: which of these three alternatives presented above can be constituted on the elective principle, and which others can be formed on non-elective basis. Putting together these two dimensions—type of organization and elective/non-elective basis—yields the paradigm

of government in Jaipur urban area as demonstrated in Table 2.

TABLE 2
ALTERNATIVE TYPES OF GOVERNMENT IN JAIPUR
URBAN AREAS: PURE TYPES

<i>Type of Organization</i>	<i>Elective</i>	<i>Non-Elective</i>
1. Unity System	Whole Organization	Whole Organization
2. Two-tier System	Both tiers ¹	Upper tier ²
3. Special Authority ³	—	Each Authority

These alternative forms of government are pure types. One can also think of several mixed types through different combinations. This is shown in Table 3. The combinations would yield four mixed types of organizations.

TABLE 3
MIXED TYPES OF GOVERNMENT : ALTERNATIVE FORMS

1. Elected Unitary system <i>plus</i> some special Authorities	2. Non-elected Unitary system <i>plus</i> some special authorities
3. Elected two-tier system <i>plus</i> some special authorities	4. Two-tier with non-elected upper tier <i>plus</i> some special authorities

If one rules out the possibility of arrangement of government exclusively through special purpose authorities, in all there are eight alternative forms of governmental organization available for adoption—four from Table 2 and four from Table 3.

¹It is possible to have the lower tier directly elected and upper tier indirectly elected by the lower tier.

²It is possible to make both tiers non-elective. But, the very creation of lower tier is on the logic of consumers proximity and collaboration. Hence normally the lower tier would be an elected body.

³Special Authority like a housing board dealing with a special function has universally been a non-elected body. Theoretically, it is possible to conceive of a special authority being constituted on the elective basis.

The options can further be limited by eliminating 2 and 4 from Table 3 for the simple reason that a non-elective unitary system or a non-elective upper tier in a two-tier system obviate the need for non-elective special purpose authorities. So, ultimately, the choice has to be made out of the six alternative forms left—four in Table 2 and two (No. 1 and No. 3) in Table 3.

The concept of special purpose authority has to be viewed against the need for unification of government and creation of a comprehensive organization which, as the Draft Master Plan has rightly diagnosed, is essential for directive and guided urban growth in the Jaipur Urban Area. The authority and scope of a comprehensive government will be diluted by the introduction of special purpose bodies. Hence, the efficacy of the mixed types 1 and 3 in Table 3 has to be carefully judged.

The choice of a right form of governmental organization will go to determine the successful implementation of the master plan. A government needs to be firmly on the saddle both to check undesirable urban growth and to promote planned development. It is implied that with the installation of an appropriate form of urban government, the State Government's direct operational involvement in urban development of the area will be terminated, the district collector's authority to regulate land use in the peri-urban areas will be withdrawn and the jurisdiction of the State Housing Board will be extinguished in the Jaipur Urban Area.

In conclusion, it may be observed that change in governmental design at any level involves a very painful process, as new ideas are usually anathema to the 'vested interests' that might have grown up over the years. Yet, change is necessary for survival.

Organization for Plan Implementation

The most conspicuous of all the urban centres are the metropolitan centres, whose growth and characteristics distinguish them from other centres of population. They are usually the important centres of political power and are the seats of national or State Governments, which encourage growth of a large number of activities. These metropolises are the centres of not only Government but also of trade, with transportation network focusing on them. These are the leading banking and financial centres of the country.

Consequently, professional talents of different kinds have concentrated in these great cities, apart from specialized urban facilities like the medical and health centres, universities, courts of national importance, institutes of science and technology, national libraries and sports. These cities have also become the centres of national radio and television system. Hence, these great cities have become centres of population and a great proportion of the wealthiest families live in them. This has resulted in the rapid growth of prosperous industries, fashionable shopping centres, luxury housing on one side and creation of slums, unhealthy environment, shortages of facilities on the other.

The growth of population in metropolitan cities, particularly in India, has led to what town planners call 'organic growth' of these cities along with lines of least resistance. Migrants have settled down on whatever land they were able to get, either authorisedly or unauthorisedly. As and when population concentrated at any part, whether within or outside the city, the people brought social and political pressure on the

city government or the State Government and got some urban facilities like water supply, street lights, public transportation and a few others. There was no regular street pattern as no one visualised the necessity for such a pattern in the hurry of eking out his livelihood in these great centres, which afforded employment opportunities. This paper deals with the problems of metropolitan cities, and the type of urban development organization required in India. Before going to the details, let us look at the past experience.

PAST EXPERIENCE

As soon as the British Public Health Act was brought into force in England in 1848 certain remedial measures were taken in that country to improve the living conditions in cities which were being affected due to Industrial Revolution. Municipalities were established and were entrusted with the work of water supply, sanitation and municipal administration. Though, we got similar acts and institutions in India due to the influence of the British, our cities could not do much to regulate their growth, as it happened in Britain and other countries. Then came the British Housing of Working Classes Act 1890, which, the Britishers thought, would remedy the deficiencies of public health law regarding the housing of the working classes. This act dealt with the slums and the provision for new housing. But, there was still a problem of the dwelling houses built in the shadow of the factory and of the factory erected in the midst of calm residential dwellings. Housing Law did not cater to them any more than did the Public Health Law.

Hence, in 1909 the British Town Planning Law was introduced as part II of the Housing Law. The Act of 1909 is the first enactment on town planning, which entered a statute book in the world.

As usual, India saw certain legal measures taken for improvement of urban areas on the lines of British experience. Some of these laws enacted before Independence are listed below:

- | | | |
|---|-----|------|
| 1. The City of Bombay Improvement Act
(Repealed in 1925) | ... | 1898 |
| 2. The City of Mysore Improvement Act | ... | 1903 |

3. The Calcutta Improvement Act	...	1911
4. The Bombay Town Planning Act	...	1915
5. The Uttar Pradesh Town Improvement Act	...	1919
6. The Madras Town Planning Act	...	1920
7. The Punjab Town Improvement Act (brought into effect only in 1935 by consti- tuting Lahore Improvement Trust)	...	1922
8. The Nagpur Improvement Trust Act	...	1936
9. The City of Bangalore Improvement Act	...	1945
10. The Kanpur Urban Area (Development) Act		1945

After the Independence of India in 1947, and particularly after the states' reorganization in 1956, it was felt necessary both by the Centre and the State Governments to bring comprehensive laws for urban planning and development. As the old enactments could not solve effectively many of the ills of our urban centres, the Government of India, in consultation with the State Governments, prepared a model Town and Country Planning Act and circulated it among the States for reference and adoption. The Act provided only for plan making, and it had no provisions for plan implementation. The Town and Country Planning Organization, New Delhi, in consultation with the State Chief Planners, has since brought out a model bill for construction of urban development authorities. This model bill was placed before the State Ministers Conference at Madras in June, 1974. This has been circulated among all the States for adoption.

On the basis of the model Town the country Planning Act, certain states revised their existing town planning legislations and enacted comprehensive legislations for urban planning and development. The following are some of the important legislations enacted :

1. The Karnataka Town and Country Planning Act, 1961.
2. The Maharashtra Regional Planning Act, 1966.
3. The Tamil Nadu Town and Country Planning Act, 1971.
4. The Madhya Pradesh Town Planning Act, 1973.

In addition, the States continue to enact City Improvement Acts for urban development programmes in some major cities. For the national capital area, the Government of India enacted the Delhi Development Act, 1957. During the decade 1960-70, all States tried to bring out comprehensive town planning

lagislations, though some bills are still before the concerned State legislatures. After 1970, it was felt that planning alone could not solve the problems of our cities, particularly of metropolitan centres. Therefore, we should discuss the type of organization required for urban development.

In the early part of the century, this type of thinking had taken place in the United States of America. Many intellectuals, practising town planners, students of public administration, heads of municipalities, municipal commissioners, political scientists and also the citizens involved themselves in the debate. Discussions were continued in the technical journals and in the panel discussions of professional society meetings. At the same time, cities continued to set up new planning agencies and also reorganize existing agencies, following different set-up in different places. Though constitutional status of city Governments in the United States is different from that obtaining in India, the practices are worth trying. A progressive country should advance with the change of conditions, and corrects the defective ones from the experience gained. There has to be free exchange of ideas, thoughts and technical know-how.

Progressive thoughts unfortunately, are implemented so slowly in this country that they become outmoded by the time they are translated into action. It is to be remembered that any new idea to be implemented requires further revision of legislation without which the new thought will be only in theory and not in practice. We should be quick in bringing out legislations up to date, so that new ideas are realized in building better cities to live in.

Some cities organize town planning as a regular municipal function and a few enlightened cities (only a few) have their own wings for town planning. Others take advisory plans from the State town planning organisations. The remaining towns and villages have no town planning functions, except their day-to-day municipal functions of sanitation and road repairs. This is the time appropriate to evolve some pattern of organization for urban planning and development. Of course, organization alone does not solely determine the effectiveness of planning. Competent and dedicated personnel can make any pattern of organization to work efficiently by informal means. However, an unsound organizational structure and the resulting relation-

ships can hamper even the most able leadership. In such cases, organization can have the effect of releasing the full creative energy of such leadership.

Another important aspect to be considered is the advantages of discussions over alternative forms of organization, which shows that various values are involved in such alternatives. If one pattern of organization serves some values, the other values are brought to force by a different pattern. Therefore the objective may to follow is to sort out the major values or goals to be achieved and to work out the relationship of different patterns of organization as the means to achieve these objectives. If a relationship between means and goals can be established in a rational way, then it would be easy to determine in any particular urban or rural area, which values have to have priority. After establishing this relationship, decisions regarding the location and organizational form of the urban planning and development function can be made.

ORGANIZATIONAL PATTERN

In my presidential address at the 22nd Town and Country Planning Seminar at Bhopal last June, I touched on the organizational pattern required for urban planning and development, from which I quote the following:

"... Town Planning is a state subject under the Constitution of India. Therefore the Central Government generally leaves it to the State Government to take care of urban and rural planning and implementation programmes. The State Governments in turn feel that these are problems pertaining to local bodies. But one has to realise that cities do not cater only to the people within their limits; they serve as centres of culture, commerce, industry and infrastructure for the entire city region. Many times cities do not grow within the municipal limits only. They spread and sprawl all along the highways, without considering the artificial boundaries created by man for local administration. We have examples of cities bye-passing State limits as in Delhi and Chandigarh and of a large number of cities in the country spreading beyond local municipal limits. In addition, many undertakings of the Government of India have been located in major cities particularly the Defence

establishments and major industrial undertakings including the Railways. Thus, it is seen that the development of the city maintaining the urban facilities is a joint venture not only of the local body but also of the State and Central Governments. There is a clear case for the State and Central Governments to come in a big way to help the local bodies...".

"In addition to an urbanization policy what we need is a reorganization of the local government structure to handle the urban problems efficiently. Urban development alone cannot solve all the urban problems unless an efficient agency is set up with sufficient financial, legal and administrative powers to maintain and to run the urban administration effectively. Therefore, the Government of India and the State Governments may examine the possibility of reorganizing the local administration in the entire country...."

"Proper study and research is required to resolve two major issues as far as town planning legislation is concerned.

1. Whether all the local authorities can be entrusted with the work of preparing master plans for separate planning authorities have to be constituted for this purpose.

2. Whether urban development authorities should be constituted exclusively for urban development and implementation of master plans, or they should also be entrusted with the work of preparation of Master Plans.

These are two basic issues, the first one concerning municipal administration and city planning, and the second one concerning city planning and urban development. A third alternative is also possible where municipal administration, town planning and urban development could be entrusted to a single organization if an authority can be found to handle all these three functions efficiently. But, this is a rare phenomenon in our country at present...."

Considering the existing set-up of local bodies and their limited jurisdiction and functions, it is proposed that specialized agencies are to be set up to look after planning and development functions in metropolitan areas. The Model Urban Development Authority Bill contemplates the constitution of a State level body for such a function. This type may be applicable only in small and hilly states, where urban population is less. Constitution of a State level authority for urban development and

planning in other States is impracticable, in view of the vast jurisdiction and heavy workload. Therefore, it is better to constitute urban development authorities for major metropolitan cities and other potential urban centres which tend to become metropolitan centres in the near future.

The Conference of State Ministers incharge of Town Planning and Urban Development discussed this aspect and recommended the constitution of urban development authorities for metropolitan cities on the lines of Delhi Development Authority. But the Delhi Development Authority has its own limitations. The States cannot permit the development authorities to make profit as in the case of Delhi Development Authority, since these authorities are not set up under the Companies Law and also the Central Parliament has to give permission to a statutory authority to make profits. However certain features of the Delhi Development Act are worth trying in the States which contemplate constitution of such authorities.

1. The highest authority in the State like the Governor or the Chief Minister should be the Ex-Officio Chairman of the authority.
2. Full-time Vice-Chairman is required to look after the day-to-day functions of the authority.
3. At least three full-time members are required for the following functions: (a) Finance; (b) Engineering; (c) Town Planning.

The development authority should not only be incharge of development functions but also of town planning functions under the State Town Planning Law. This authority should have two distinct wings, one for planning and the other for development, apart from the administration, land acquisition, finance and other sections. The technical personnel of the planning wing only should be incharge of planning work and on no account the development wing should modify the proposals contained in the master plans and development schemes without the concurrence of the planning wing.

Certain improvements could be made in the Delhi Development Act. It is better to delete the provisions pertaining to town planning from the Development Act and authorize the development authority to function as the planning authority,

under the State Planning Law, so that there could be uniform policy in the preparation and implementation of master plans.

The functions of the Development authority may include:

1. Land Acquisition.
2. Housing.
3. Provision of civic amenities and community facilities.
4. Landscaping and recreational facilities.
5. Development of shopping and industrial complexes, etc.

Specialized functions like water supply, drainage, electricity, mass transportation, telephones and also works pertaining to municipal administration should be entrusted to the respective authorities constituted under the separate statutes.

Within the metropolitan cities, a large number of activities require coordination, regulation, control and development. The major function within the metropolitan could be categorized as:

1. Municipal function.
2. Development function.

The local authorities should concentrate on the municipal functions and the development authorities on development functions.

The following are the nine metropolitan cities in India:

- | | |
|--------------|--------------|
| 1. Calcutta | 6. Bangalore |
| 2. Bombay | 7. Ahmedabad |
| 3. Delhi | 8. Kanpur |
| 4. Madras | 9. Poona |
| 5. Hyderabad | |

The first five have development authorities. The remaining metropolitan cities which require urban development authorities are Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Kanpur, and Poona. It is felt that these cities also have to be covered by Urban Development Bill of the respective States.

The Madras Metropolitan Development Authority, has since been constituted incorporating some of the features of the Delhi Development Authority. The Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority, on the other hand, is said to be a policy making body and not an implementing agency. It has got

control over the planning and financing of urban development programmes instead of being purely an implementing agency. It gets the plans implemented through other agencies constituted for different purposes. Only major projects for which no agency is available within the Calcutta Metropolitan District are taken up directly by the development authority. Considering all these authorities, *i.e.*, D.D.A., BMRDA, M.M.D.A., and C.M.D.A., we can evolve a pattern for development authorities for metropolitan centres in different states.

In Karnataka we have only one metropolitan city, *i.e.*, Bangalore, which has a population of about 1.7 million according to 1971 census. The draft Bill (Bangalore Development Bill) incorporating some of the suggestions mentioned above, has been prepared and submitted to the State Government. This Bill is being scrutinised by the State Government for placing before the state legislature for enactment.

The other class I cities, are not discussed in detail, here, as the scope of this paper is intended to focus the attention on the problems of metropolitan cities only. However, some of the major cities which can provide sufficient workload can have development authorities as suggested above, since some of them may become metropolitan centres in the next decade. For small and medium towns, it is better to reorganize the local bodies to take up urban development and planning function, by enabling them to constitute various committees to take up urban planning and development works. For the purpose of controlling peripheral developments outside the limits of such towns, the State town planning departments should be strengthened with statutory powers enabling the staff to regulate the land uses and urban development activities in these areas with the help of the rural local bodies, like Taluk Development Boards, etc. For this purpose, every district should have town planning units so that the peripheral areas and other potential urban centres could be taken care of.

Urbanization is taking place very rapidly in India. Consequently, we are facing many new problems in our urban centres, which had not faced such problems before. Therefore, as suggested earlier, new experiments and new ideas should be tried to tackle the complex problems in our urban centres in

under the State Planning Law, so that there could be uniform policy in the preparation and implementation of master plans.

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general and the metropolitan areas in particular. The metropolitan centres require our immediate attention and sooner we solve their problems, better will be the life of the citizens living there.

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7

Land Acquisition and Implementation of Development Plans

It has been pointed out time and again—not without substance—that one of the main handicaps in the speedy and successful implementation of the development plans is the inordinate delay and difficulty in obtaining possession of the land sought to be acquired for the purpose. A number of development plans, it is said, have been halted because of the invocation of judicial jurisdiction by private rights. The general complaint of the authorities is that the courts are more eager in protecting individual rights rather than upholding the acquisition proceedings thereby jeopardising the development activities of the state. Court decisions relating to payment of compensation for the lands acquired are pointed out as examples in support of this contention. Such decisions, it is said, had created difficulties in the implementation of the schemes of social engineering proposed by the government and other authorities, as the meagre resources of the state could not permit payment of full compensation on the basis of market value for the acquired lands. On the other hand, the land owners try to establish that in a number of cases they have been awarded only nominal or illusory compensation for the lands acquired by the state, thereby making the constitutional guarantee of their right to property, a nullity. The attempt in this paper is to evaluate the weight of the respective arguments through an analysis of the constitutional provisions before and after the Twenty-Fifth Amendment and the judicial decisions relating thereto, with a view to identify the legal bottlenecks that stand in the way of successful plan implementation and suggest remedial measures.

PROVISIONS RELATING TO THE ACQUISITION OF LAND UNDER THE DEVELOPMENT ACTS

The power of the sovereign to take private property for public use and the consequent right of the owner to compensation are well-established. Under the Development Acts there are provisions in existence for acquisition of land for the purpose of planning and development. Such acquisitions are deemed to be for 'public purpose' and generally, the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act 1894, particularly those relating to the payment of compensation are made applicable (with or without modifications) in acquisition proceedings. Some of the Acts provide for the establishment of Tribunals for the determination of the disputes relating to compensation and the award of such tribunals is made final. The general procedure is for the authority for whose purpose the acquisition is proposed to be made, to approach the government which in turn is to set the law in motion and acquire the land in accordance with the procedure prescribed under the relevant Act and transfer it later to the authority concerned after receiving the compensation payable together with the expenses incurred for the acquisition.

THE LAND ACQUISITION ACT, 1894

The Land Acquisition Act, 1894 being a pre-constitutional piece of legislation was not required to satisfy the requirements of the constitutional provisions. It was enacted at a time when large scale acquisition of lands for various development projects, big and small, were not visualised by the legislature. Some state legislatures have amended the 1894 Act for meeting the requirements of the various development projects. Under the Constitution, "Acquisition and Requisitioning of property" is placed in the Concurrent List and as such both the Union and the States are empowered to enact laws relating to acquisition or requisition of property. In pursuance of this power some states have enacted separate self-contained acquisition laws for application within their respective jurisdictions.

THE CONSTITUTION

The 1894 Act provides for acquisition of land for a public

purpose and for a company. While it does not contain an exhaustive definition of 'public purpose', it makes the executive determination of the existence of a public purpose final and non-justiciable. Under the Constitution the existence of a public purpose is a condition precedent to the exercise of the power of compulsory acquisition by the state. Article 19(1)(f) of the Constitution guarantees the right to property to the citizens by declaring that all the citizens shall have the right to acquire, hold and dispose of property subject only to the reasonable restrictions to be imposed by law in the interests of the general public. Thus, this right is not absolute but is subject to certain limitations in the nature of 'reasonable restrictions'. Article 31 reinforces this right against state action by guaranteeing the right not to be deprived of property 'save by authority of law' and without payment of compensation. Thus, the obligation to pay compensation for acquisition of property has been raised to the status of a fundamental right. Under the original Article 31 the adequacy of the compensation provided by an Act was open to scrutiny by a court. However the face of this Article has been considerably changed by the First, Fourth, Seventeenth and Twenty-Fifth Amendments to the Constitution.

Regarding the determination of compensation payable in the case of compulsory acquisition, the first important decision was the *Bella Banerjee Case* (AIR 1954 SC 170) where the Supreme Court had held that the word 'compensation' in Article 31(2) meant a "just equivalent of what the owner has been deprived of" and insisted on "full indemnification" of the expropriated owner. The consequence of this decision was the Constitution Fourth Amendment Act, 1955 by which the adequacy of compensation was made non-justiciable. But, in spite of this exclusion of judicial jurisdiction, the Supreme Court held that the courts would still have jurisdiction to examine whether the compensation fixed was 'illusory' and whether "the principles were unconnected to the property acquired", for in either case, "it can be said that the Legislature committed a fraud on power, and therefore the law is bad". This, in substance, is the view expressed in the *Vajravelu Case* (AIR 1965 SC 1017) and the *Metal Corporation Case* (AIR 1967 SC 637). However, in *Shantilal's Case* (AIR 1969 SC 634) the

Supreme Court took a different view by holding that the amount of compensation payable, if fixed by the legislature, is not justiciable because the challenge in such a case would be only a challenge to the adequacy of compensation. But in the *Bank Nationalisation Case* (AIR 1970 SC 564) the Court again went back to the position in the *Vajravelu* and *Metal Corporation Cases* and held that "the object of the principle for valuation must be to pay to the owner what he has lost" including the benefit of advantages present as well as future.

Then came the Twenty-Fifth Amendment. Under this Amendment the expression 'compensation' in Article 31 (which had created all the confusion after the Fourth Amendment) was substituted by the term 'amount'. It also added a new clause, viz, Article 31C which gives unrestricted powers to Parliament to give effect to the Directive Principles of State Policy enshrined in Article 39 of the Constitution.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH AMENDMENT

The Amendment seeks to do away with the consequences of the Supreme Court decision in the *Bank Nationalisation Case* in which the court had held that the word 'compensation' in Article 31(2) meant the 'just equivalent' in money of the property compulsorily acquired. In other words, the Amendment is directed to bar the jurisdiction of the court in matters relating to the compulsory acquisition of private property with a view to accelerate the pace of progress by rapid implementation of the directive principles contained in Article 39 (b) and (c). After the Amendment, the State is in a position to acquire the property of a citizen for a public purpose by paying an 'amount' which is less than 'just equivalent' in money—or less than market value—of the property sought to be acquired.

ACQUISITION LAW AND ARTICLE 14

Before going into the effect of this Amendment on the acquisition proceedings for the purpose of implementation of development plans, it is necessary to point out here that a law relating to compulsory acquisition of property is liable to be struck down if it does not satisfy the requirements of Article 14

of the Constitution, unless the operation of the Article is specifically excluded by the Constitution itself. In fact the courts had struck down a number of legislations on land acquisition on the ground of violation of this Article. Thus, in the *Vajruvelu Case*, the Land Acquisition (Madras Amendment) Act, 1961 was struck down on the ground that it had provided for acquisition of land for a housing scheme on payment of lesser compensation than what the owner would get for the same land or a similar land if it was acquired for a public purpose like hospital or university under the original Land Acquisition Act, 1894. The court held that the law made an unjust discrimination between owners of lands similarly situated and was, therefore, violative of the equality provisions of the Constitution,

The Nagpur Improvement Trust V. Vithal Rao
(Air 1973 SC 689)

Now the question is: Has the Twenty-Fifth Amendment in any way helped in the acquisition of properties at less than the market value for the purpose of implementation of development plans? The post-amendment decisions indicate that the answer is in the negative. In *Nagpur Improvement Trust v. Vithal Rao*, the Supreme Court held that the amendment made by the Nagpur Improvement Trust Act to the Land Acquisition Act regarding the fixation of market value for the purpose of payment of compensation was violative of Article 14 of the Constitution. In this case, the main contention of the petitioner was that the Improvement Act was in violation of Article 14 of the Constitution in as much as it empowered the acquisition of lands at prices lower than those which would have been payable if they had been acquired under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894. The court struck down the impugned provision on the following grounds:

- (i) the owner whose land is acquired under the Improvement Act is paid compensation not according to the market value of the land, but the market value according to the use to which the land was put at the date with reference to which the market value is to be determined in that clause. In other words, if the land is

used for agricultural purposes, even though it has a potential value as a building site, the potential value is to be ignored.

- (ii) the owner does not get a solatium of 15 per cent which he would have got if the land had been acquired under the Land Acquisition Act.
- (iii) while the state can make a reasonable classification for the purpose of legislation, the object itself should be lawful and cannot be discriminatory. If the object is to discriminate against one section of the minority, the discrimination cannot be justified.
- (iv) A classification based on the public purpose is not permissible under Article 14 for the purpose of determining compensation unless the owner of the land himself is the recipient of benefits from an improvement scheme and the benefit to him is taken into consideration in fixing compensation.
- (v) Different principles of compensation cannot be laid if the land is acquired for or by an Improvement Trust or Municipal Corporation or the Government, because as far as the owner is concerned it does not matter to him whether the land is acquired by one authority or the other.
- (vi) It is equally immaterial whether it is one Acquisition Act or another Acquisition Act under which the land is acquired. If the existence of the two Acts would enable the state to give one owner different treatment from another equally situated, the owner who is discriminated against can claim protection of Article 14.
- (vii) while accepting the contention that in many cases the value of the land had increased not because of any effort by the owner, but because of the general development of the city in which the land is situated, the court pointed out that Article 14 prohibited the expropriation of unearned increment of one owner while leaving his neighbour untouched. "If the object of the legislation is to tax unearned increment it should be done through the state. The state cannot achieve this object piecemeal by compulsory acquisition of land of some owners leaving others alone. If the object is to clear

slums it cannot be done at the expense of the owners whose lands are acquired unless the owners are directly benefited by the scheme. If the object is to build hospitals it cannot be done at the expense of the owners of the land which is acquired. The hospital, schools, etc., must be built at the expense of the whole community," the court observed.

Sarwan Singh V. State of Punjab (1975) ISCC 284

The decision in the *Vithal Rao Case* was followed in subsequent cases also. However, in a very recent case, viz., the *Sarwan Singh Case*, the Supreme Court made a distinction between the character of the acquisition under the Land Acquisition Act and that under the Improvement Act and held that "this difference has a definite and intimate nexus with the principal object of the Act, namely, improvement of towns which is the dominant purpose". In this case land was acquired for a development scheme of the Ludhiana Improvement Trust under the provisions of the Punjab Town Improvement Act. For the purpose of acquisition of land for the Trust, the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act are made applicable with certain modifications. As per the modifications, a Tribunal is constituted for the purpose of acquisition under the Improvement Act and the award of the Tribunal is made final. Again, the Act has amended the provisions relating to the fixation of market value under the Land Acquisition Act by prescribing some supplemental principles for determining the market value of the land according to the use to which the land was put at the material date.

The petitioner, in this case, contended *inter alia*:

- (i) that the two rights of appeal which were available under the Land Acquisition Act were denied when land was acquired under the Improvement Act and as such the provision under the Improvement Act was violative of Article 14 of the Constitution.
- (ii) that there was a clear discrimination when land was chosen to be acquired under the Improvement Act when it could have been done under the Land Acquisition Act and as such there was an infringement of Article 14

of the Constitution.

Rejecting the above contentions the court held that the lands acquired for the Trusts under the Improvement Act could be reasonably placed under a well-defined category in view of the scheme underlying the detailed provisions in the said Act. The court made the following observations which are illuminating:

“Here the object of the Improvement Act being improvement of the towns covers a specific, though a wide, field as may be evidenced by the elaborate provisions for preparation and implementation of schemes by the Trust under the said Act ... the government under the Acquisition Act acquire land for public purposes without the preliminary requirements of any schemes for utilisation of the particular land. On the other hand, under the Improvement Act there is a statutory obligation upon the trusts first to frame appropriate schemes in which case the matter is likely to take air, and the public as well as the land owners may benefit materially from knowledge of acquisition prior to the actual notification, under Section 36 as against a preliminary notification under Section 4 of the Acquisition Act which appears in the gazette all of a sudden. *This pre-acquisition difference of procedure is significant as the material date for determination of compensation in either case is the publication of notification under Section 36 and Section 4 respectively.*” (Emphasis added)

On the above reasoning the court held that “no valid exception can, therefore, be taken to adaptation of the Acquisition Act with modification to suit the requirements of the Improvement Act and in particular to the deletion of the provisions of appeal under Section 54 of the Acquisition Act. Acquisition of land under the Improvement Act admits of a reasonable basis of classification and Section 59(a) is, therefore, not violative of Article 14 of the Constitution”.

The court refused to interfere with the quantum of compensation as there was “no case of gross injustice or discrimination”.

ANALYSIS OF THE DECISIONS

The ruling of the Supreme Court in *Sarwan Singh's Case*

that the land acquired for the trusts under the Improvement Acts can be reasonably placed under the well-defined category in view of the schemes underlying in those Acts without violating Article 14 of the Constitution, is a welcome deviation from the earlier view it had taken in *Vithal Rao's Case*. The reasoning of the court based on the pre-acquisition difference of procedure under the Land Acquisition Act and the Town Improvement Act sounds logical and must give some relief to the planning authorities in matters of acquisition. It may, however, be pointed out here that it is surprising that the court did not make any reference to *Vithal Rao's Case* (which was followed by the Supreme Court in subsequent cases) even though the question raised in both the cases had some similarities. It may also be mentioned that the court did not make any direct ruling on the point decided in *Vithal Rao's Case* except by an observation that "no valid exception can be taken to the adaptation of the Acquisition Act with modification to suit the requirements of the Improvement Act ..." in view of the pre-acquisition difference of procedure under the Acts. Further, while the *Vithal Rao's Case* was decided by a constitution bench of seven judges, the ruling in the *Sarwan Singh Case* was given by a full bench of three judges and as such it is doubtful whether the later decision would prevail over the earlier one unless and until the latter one is overruled by another constitution bench.

Another important point: the historic Twenty-Fifth Amendment has not in any way influenced the decision in *Sarwan Singh's Case* in upholding the relevant Town Improvement Act because the reasoning of the decision would have had the same validity even if the decision were given before the Amendment.

CONCLUSION

Whenever the court strikes down an administrative action for non-compliance with the procedural obligation of the Land Acquisition Act, the modern tendency is to criticise the court as standing in the way of implementation of development plans without being bothered about the inadequacies of the legal provisions. It may be worth remembering that the court's

function is to interpret the law passed by the legislature and declare what the law is, while it is the legislature's function to make it what it ought to be in tune with the demands of the changing time. When the court invalidates a welfare legislation on the ground of 'unjust discrimination', the court is not to be blamed, for the court has to pass the order in accordance with the existing law and it is for the legislature to remove the discrimination. If the implementation of the development plans demands quick acquisition of land at less than the market value, a legislative programme for rapid acquisition bypassing the normal time-consuming and expensive land acquisition process, must be evolved. It is unfortunate that the enthusiasm with which the historic Twenty-Fifth Amendment was passed through the Parliament, has faded away soon after the Amendment came into effect. If follow-up legislations consequent to the Amendment are not enacted, the blame is not on the judiciary but on the legislature. When the Amendment enables the state to pay less than the market value by way of compensation for compulsory acquisition of property where it cannot afford to pay full market value, there is no reason for not carrying out the required amendment in the acquisition laws. It is high time that suitable amendments are made in the various laws dealing with the acquisition of property starting from the original Land Acquisition Act of 1894 and covering up the Development Acts for the speedy implementation of the plans.

Yet another point: the existing procedure for acquisition under the Land Acquisition Act is too dilatory and time-consuming and does not suit the requirements of the development plans. Some of the Development Acts, as has already been pointed out, have made provisions for the constitution of tribunals and their decisions in matters of acquisitions are made final. The Supreme Court in *Sarwan Singh's Case* has upheld this provision and held that "the legislature by making the order of the tribunal final seeks to avoid delay in the course of litigation to defeat the purposes of the scheme framed under the (Town Improvement) Act".

One of the main advantages of tribunals is that they are quicker in settling disputes than the ordinary courts and they are in a better position to avail of the special knowledge of experts in the field. It is, therefore, suggested that necessary

amendments may be made in the Development Acts so as to exclude the jurisdiction of the courts in matters of acquisition by creating tribunals comprising of efficient experts in the area.

8

Implementation of Development
Plans—Role of the Public

One of the oft-repeated remark is that "Development Plans have been prepared for a large number of cities but it has not been possible to implement them because of lack of funds." Such a statement is further followed by the query: "What is the use of preparing a Development Plan if no money is provided for its implementation?" Following from this query, it has been deduced that because no money is provided for implementation, the preparation of the development plans could also be given up. The consequence of this chain of arguments has led to town planning departments not being properly organised, town planning laws not being enacted, adequate personnel not being provided and so on. The town planning departments and their work have languished both on account of staff and lack of direction.

DEVELOPMENT PLAN AND IMPLEMENTATION

There is a total misconception in this line of thinking. Development Plans are prepared with the objective of controlling and directing developments taking place in a city or town or region or areas. The plans have also the objective of preventing and prohibiting undesirable developments taking place in that area. We have, thus, in the development plans not only the negative aspects but also the promotion of development and prevention of deterioration of the environment. Control and promotion of the development of an area on rational lines will include developments are being undertaken not only by the government agencies but also by the public at large. The

construction of houses, factories, shops, warehouses, etc., in the private sector, continues to take place whether the government invests or not depending upon the demand and supply for them. Shops get built because there is demand for them. It is not necessary that the government should invest themselves in all these areas. Government's primary interest should be to see that these developments are according to an overall plan-frame and they contribute to the goals of the plan. However, government will need to provide the necessary infrastructure for development in that area if it does not already exist.

We have a large number of towns and cities which have considerable unbuilt land within them. All this land may not be served today with adequate services but the development of this land is taking place all the time and the municipal authorities are spending money annually on extension of services, installation of new services to meet the demands. Thus it will be incorrect to say that because there is no money for implementation of plans as such urban development has completely stopped. It is all the time going on, caused by the investment from the private sector and aided by the investment though small, by the municipal bodies. Should this development then not go on the right lines and does not a development plan help to guide these development so as to ensure that future problems are not created and that the town development takes place in a rational manner. This important aspect has been practically ignored in many discussions and what is really talked of is the availability of funds from the state or the centre for undertaking large scale development of services. Thus the totality in thinking has been relegated to a back fanch.

DEVELOPMENT PLAN AND PRIVATE SECTOR INVESTMENT

A study of investment patterns in a city will indicate that the total investment in buildings, appurtenances, machinery, equipments, etc., the private sector is very much large than the total investment by the government in public offices, utility services and amenities. In fact the ratio would be as much as 4 : 1 or 3 : 1. In our attitude to bemoan the lack of provision for undertaking the 20 per cent of the investment, we completely ignore the other 80 per cent investment that is going in and will

cause new problems and difficulties in urban areas. If today squatter colonies have come up, shops have been built up, authorised and unauthorised colonies have come up, it is because of our lack of attention to this very important aspect that development is not only in the public sector but very much in the private sector, which plays a very important and crucial role.

As stated earlier, the investment in services with amenities in urban areas has not come to a stop. It continues all the time as required under the obligations of the municipal bodies. The investment may not always be in terms of large capital but however small it is today, the municipalities spend over Rs. 150 crores on services and amenities. If this investment has to be properly utilised, it is necessary that a plan frame must be available to all the municipalities and that they should know how their towns are growing today and how they are going to grow hereafter. Unless this is ensured, the investment by them may become largely infructuous.

If the inadequacy of these investments in services should be taken as a deterrent in preparation of development plans and their enforcement, it is important to take note that the private sector can be made to contribute very substantially for infra-structural development through fiscal and other measures. It is common knowledge that DDA and other agencies are today collecting substantial sums of money from the general public for meeting the cost of all the services and sometimes even trunk services. The so-called betterment levy which was being earlier collected by improvement trusts is an instance of such a contribution. Thus it is not necessary that the funds for implementation of development plans must be provided by the state government in their plans. As long the policies indicate and encourage the municipal bodies to undertake development with facility to raise the resources required and provide the necessary tools for that purpose, there should be no difficulty in undertaking urban development; whether the funds are provided at the state or at the central level.

It has been considered and accepted that the urban development by and large should become self-supporting and support generating. If this policy is to be implemented then it is necessary that urban development has to be planned and we

should go with the preparation of development plans and their rigorous provision and enforcement.

POSITIVE ROLE OF PRIVATE SECTOR IN IMPLEMENTATION

The word 'Implementation' commonly used in this context has been mistakenly interpreted to mean only implementation by the governments whether state or local in providing roads, services, amenities, etc. This is a very limited definition. Implementation starts with enforcement of a statutory plan largely accepted by the people and approved by the government and the promotion of planned development by the private sector in accordance with the plan. Enforcement will itself raise same revenues through means of development charge, and further promotion through land acquisition and development, reconstitution of plots scheme, clearance of slums and redevelopment in key areas of cities, exploitation of the commercial values. In the different parts of the city, high income uses such as cinemas, restaurants, hotels, etc., could all be made to yield sufficient revenues for the development plans to proceed ahead on the lines indicated and these should form really part of the development programme within the plan-frame. It is because these components are not included in the development plans that are prepared today that we fail to see the development plans as positive instruments of urban improvement, urban development and urban expansion. It is high time that development plan as a tool is restructured to provide this type of a programme approach in addition to its control and promotion approach.

DEVELOPMENT ORGANISATION AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

What has been said above amply demonstrates the need for a proper organisational set-up at the local level which can resume full responsibilities for a total scheme of integrated urban development. What kind of organisation should we have at the local or metropolitan level and what would be its components, what kind of personnel should be part of this organisation and how does it function are basic questions to which satisfactory answers have to be found. Unless the organisation is properly geared not only to prepare a plan but to implement

it in its fullest sense, in the manner described above, the mere provision of funds will not help and the development plan may remain a paper plan. A wrong type of implementation may even accentuate the problem. It is the dynamic quality of the organisational set-up and its personnel that would ultimately determine the effectiveness of the development plan and its ability to produce urban environment satisfactory for all those people who live in a city.

RAPPORT WITH THE PUBLIC

Such an organisation needs to have very intimate rapport with the general public. Present experience indicate that most development authorities set up for this purpose have very little rapport with the general public and in fact there appears to develop a growing sense of hostility between the public and the authority. The authority appears to think of the public as uncooperative, obstructive and unnecessarily critical and therefore the least to be taken into confidence. The authority uses the legal framework as a shield to circumvent the public. On the other side the public feels very distrustful of the authority, considers it bureaucratic, evasive and subject to all sorts of pleasure.

This is primarily due to lack of communication between the two. Publicity of the type that we see today does not reach the common man, neither is he convinced by it for he believes in the adage "The proof of the pudding lies in its eating." Any amount of talk of large investment in public transport or water supply or drainage cannot help unless the benefits are felt by the people in their areas in real terms, in terms of getting adequate buses to the places of work, getting adequate water supply and proper drainage during the rainy season. As the benefits are rarely seen by them, specially to the poorer sections of the population, the credibility gap between what the authorities say and what they do becomes larger and larger defeating the purpose for which the authority set up. It is here that any authority that means to do good work has to build up an areawise approach taking the public confidence in its plans for development. Along with the large investments for the improvement of water supply, drainage and power development, the authority

has to think simultaneously any small improvement which each area can get, whether it is in the form of a road cleaning up or a water tank, or a children's park or other amenity. Priority should be given for those tasks that public can see and appreciate. Once the confidence is built up the public can be made to wait for larger investment to give them more permanent benefits. Such a step will even help the public to contribute generously to the large investments required, say for an internal road, or a stadium or even underground transport.

Basically, therefore, the authority should not be only well-staffed or well structured but its role with the public at the grassroot level must be in concrete terms and must visualise specific action programmes, however, small they are. The planners would have to gear themselves up to this task. Without doing this, the development plan cannot be an effective investment.

9

Relating Metropolitan Planning to
Development—the Case of
CMPO and CMDA

With the setting up of the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority (CMDA) which started functioning from October 1970, there have been occasions when questions have been raised regarding the relationship between Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organisation (CMPO) and CMDA. An attempt is made in this article to bring out some salient aspects of their inter-relationship.

The task of drawing up a physical development programme for the Calcutta Metropolitan District, for what was then the Fourth Plan (1966-71) fell on CMPO. This programme was essentially based on the schemes prepared by it previously in the fields of water supply, sewerage, drainage, traffic, transportation and bustee improvement. There were additional schemes prepared by the other executing agencies, namely, the Public Health Engineering, Irrigation and Waterways, Calcutta Improvement Trust, Howrah Improvement Trust, Calcutta Corporation etc., operating in the metropolis. But no significant advance could be made during the period 1966-69 mostly due to a scarcity of financial resources, in spite of very serious efforts made by the Government of West Bengal in this regard.

In May 1970, during the second spell of President's rule in West Bengal, the Government of India took the initiative in urban development in the metropolis and gave an indication of the resources likely to be available. At a very short notice, an item-wise programme was drawn up, largely consisting of the various schemes available, with an outlay of Rs. 150 crores for the revised Fourth Plan period of 1969-74. An amount of

Rs. 44 crores out of the total outlay was to come from out of the State's Plan resources, with the balance to be met from market borrowings, proceeds of Entry Tax and grants and loans from the Government of India. The outline of the final programme consisted of 92 schemes (later extended and broken up into 112) including those continuing from the Third Plan period, to be executed by 17 major implementing agencies which were to spend Rs. 150 crores in virtually three years—a ten-fold increase over the average annual performance of the preceding five years. The socio-economic context and the political unrest both in the metropolis and in the State of West Bengal at the time this programme was launched gave an added urgency to what was essentially an 'infrastructure improvement' programme of a rapidly deteriorating urban environment.

It was in this background that the CMDA was born. Its birthpangs were heightened by other crucial factors like the organizational weakness of the implementing agencies, scarcity of critical raw materials, lack of preparedness with detailed schemes in some cases, not to speak of the general law and order situation. But the fact that CMDA could at all get going in the first instance was almost entirely due to the tireless and productive planning work which CMPO had been doing since 1961.

It is useful to pause at this stage and note that the two basic issues, namely, (a) the necessity of creating a statutorily independent development Authority, and (b) the pre-conditions for its success, are two separate but interrelated issues. For a task of such magnitude involving a number of agencies for successful execution including a large number of local bodies and local authorities within the CMD area, the creation of an all-pervasive high-powered body hardly needs any emphasis. It has been the common experience everywhere that unless this is done, the necessary impetus and expedition may not be always available from within the existing apparatus of the state government where the paralysing routine hardly leaves any scope for getting new things done in a time-bound manner. All the same, unless : (i) there are projects to implement (which means that adequate planning has gone before); (ii) definite funds are available on a long-term basis, and (iii) simultaneous adjustments have taken place in the implementing agencies to

work in the given situation, such bodies can be veritable thorns in any state administrative apparatus.

To enable it to carry out its statutory functions the following tasks are envisaged for CMDA:

- (i) Programming and allocation of work, supervision and coordination of work, evaluation of work in progress;
- (ii) Financial planning and accounting;
- (iii) Execution and coordination in specialized areas where the tasks may be new and organizational structures are not yet clear;
- (iv) Communication and public information; and
- (v) Legal services and internal administration.

The first function identified in the legislation is the formulation of plans. Yet CMPO exists to formulate plans. Where is the line drawn?

The programming of projects by the CMDA and also its financial planning certainly represent planning activities. And in the more conventional sense of 'planning' as a physical design, the bustee improvement and the low-cost housing tasks of the CMDA will also require plans.

The question is not a simple one of "who does the planning" but, "who does what planning". An executing agency has to do a certain amount of its own planning. Plans generally have to be modified or revised on the spot as conditions arise. It is simple if the executing agency has this responsibility for plan revision.

Some plans must be revised to put them into workable form even before they reach the execution stage. So to some degree this also is more simply done by the executing agency.

The establishment of the CMDA and an identification of its responsibilities require some new thinking about the most appropriate responsibilities of the CMPO and the most appropriate organizational pattern for carrying out this responsibility.

In separating the planning responsibilities, it is possible to identify CMPO's primary concern in the following way.

ADVANCE PLANNING WITH TIME LAG

The long-range as against the short-range. Thus, for

example, the CMDA is concerned at this point with the first year of the Fifth Plan period. The later years and the Plans beyond, perhaps best fall within the purview of CMPO. Perhaps the CMDA should always be programming 4/5 years ahead, so that as it moves along in the Fifth Plan it begins programming for the sixth Plan; and the CMPO constantly moves into the future 5 years ahead of the CMDA.

PLANNING FOR SPATIAL INTEGRATION

CMPO is primarily concerned with what one call "spatially integrated planning" as distinct from individual project planning. The line here cannot be drawn as sharply as above. But the CMPO is concerned with all of the actions that must take place in an integrated manner in a particular area to achieve targets and objectives, whereas the CMDA is concerned with the specific projects in that area, particularly those to be executed by public agencies with public funds.

CONCEPTUAL PLANNING

The CMPO is concerned centrally with 'conceptual planning' as against immediate, pragmatic planning. Once again, the line is hard to draw, but the CMPO should be concerned with idea-generation, ideas to be sure that must be realistic and meet the tests of logic and consistency, but ideas which need not take into consideration certain of the immediate political facts of life. CMDA, on the other hand, must be quite sensitive to these political facts of life. It seems desirable that there be a certain amount of tension between the two agencies working at these two separate ends of the scale. This tension lifts the pragmatists out of ad-hocism on the one hand and keeps the feet of the conceptual planners planted in reality on the other.

There may be some conflicts between CMDA and CMPO. But this is not necessarily bad. It is bad only if there is no resolution of the conflict. The conflicts may arise into two fields:

- (a) A difference of basic policy. For example, CMDA might choose to emphasise central area renewal, whereas

CMPO might choose a series of intermediate locations for renewal.

- (b) Conflict in work priorities. CMDA may request, or even direct, CMPO to prepare plans which cause a significant revision of CMPO's work programme.

Short, well-reasoned debates can be useful; long, fostering arguments can be harmful. Therefore, the power to decide must be clearly identified. One would think that the State Government will have that power in its own right.

So far, we have sought to identify the basic characteristics of CMPO and CMDA based on their assigned or allotted tasks as expressed in the Government Resolution (for CMPO) and the Act (for CMDA). If the current debate were restricted only to this, one need not worry too much. But several other questions have also come up which require some examination.

For instance, the phrase 'planning gap' has frequently been used by some in this context. This could mean, first of all, that for the schemes included in the CMDA fourth or fifth plans, not enough 'projectising' has been done. In fact, it may be that many items have been included in the CMDA programme which still are or were at a notional stage. There are certain distinct stages in the process by which an idea or a concept gradually develops forward, the stage of pre-tender engineering and architectural drawings. Such a process is by definition and nature an evolutionary one, and is also time-consuming. A situation might, therefore, have arisen where notional schemes were included in the CMDA programme, which, because of lack of follow-up planning activities, remained unimplementable. If CMPO were to take up these follow-up planning activities up to pre-tender stage, and if its failure to do so has led to the alleged 'planning gap', several other questions become relevant. For instance, what is the level of planning activity expected from CMPO? If it be granted that conceptual planning is to be done by CMPO, is it also expected that detailed follow-up 'projectisation' of the schemes arising out of such conceptual plans are also to be done by CMPO? Moreover, does CMPO have enough personnel to do justice to such a workload? Apparently, a government planning agency cannot extend itself unlimitedly to take up such a load of work without losing its viability and

effectiveness. Where then is the line to be drawn? Then again, it is important to understand that the pressures on CMDA are not the same as those on CMPO. If CMPO had previously done some projectisation especially of water, sewerage or traffic schemes, this was done in the 'lull' period of the late 60s when hardly any of its schemes were being implemented. But in the 70s to expect CMPO to give as much attention to the projectisation of its schemes as to additional concept planning, would be too much. The answer to the charge that there is a 'planning gap' may have to be sought elsewhere, especially in the question, to what extent CMDA, was realistic to include even notional schemes as part of their implementable fourth plan. But then, that is another matter.

However, 'planning gap' can also be interpreted to mean that CMDA is not getting enough schemes for implementation. In the normal circumstances, one would expect CMDA to get projects from four conceivable sources: CMPO, consulting firms, other departments, and its own organization. So far as CMPO is concerned, one would like to presume that there is no dearth of identifiable schemes for the fifth plan. The same may also be true to a greater extent for other departments of the state government. One would however like to emphasize here that: (a) not all such schemes need necessarily be of metropolitan significance or character, and (b) all these schemes need to be interrelated area-wise to the extent possible so that their planning and execution can have some relevance and impact in a specific area within a reasonable time period. Such an approach however presupposes that CMDA would be concerned only with major capital investments of metropolitan or sub-metropolitan importance, leaving hopefully, the inevitable consequential 'internal' or 'fill-in' plans and schemes to be taken up by other agencies. If such a presumption be not correct, then the level of investment activity of CMDA (just as the level of planning activity of CMPO) would require detailed scrutiny.

It is however the role of the consulting firms preparing detailed projects (whether on 'turn-key' basis or not) on behalf of CMDA, that has raised more intriguing questions than anything else. Unfortunately, this topic has always provoked emotive reactions, which has left the matter much less clear.

While this is not the proper place to discuss the pros and cons one would nevertheless like to point out the sterility of this debate so long as no attempt has been made to understand the basic issues involved. CMDA is virtually running against time to produce results and therefore it must have as many projects as possible ready on the ground if only to ensure arrest of further urban deterioration after a time. If for this purpose it utilises CMPO's or any other department's notional or functional plans for obtaining quick results, it gains in several ways; (i) it may have more implementable schemes off the shelves for the present or the future; (ii) it may help in developing an expertise and a core of technicians within the consulting firms involved in urban development project, which would be a good investment by itself for the metropolis; (iii) it may attract those young technicians who may be so roped in, to be our future planners of whom we are going to require a good many; and (iv) it can broaden its implementation strategy by employing such of the consulting firms as may agree, to work on a turn-key basis. One need not necessarily assume away the various pitfalls associated with such a system, but it is also not equally true that the system of employing private consulting firms on such a massive urban development programme has never been resorted to before, and that the various pitfalls arise due to inexperience on both sides. All our consulting experience in this country so far has either been on big steel and power complexes and the like or on specific industrial projects without any orientation whatsoever towards the multi-faceted urban projects with which CMDA is involved. Even in the cost element which otherwise does look prohibitive sometimes, one would like to think that there is room for adjustment, for mutual give and take, since the private consulting firms would be silly not to venture out on this ground alone on to such a technically and professionally challenging tasks as the CMDA programme offers. If CMDA can pay for the cost, there is no reason for it not to use the consulting firms as a matter of cautious policy, with professional ethics being shown on both the sides and the usual market chicanery eschewed.

Such a policy, if carried out well, will go a long way in setting the point earlier mentioned, *i.e.*, the level of CMPO's planning activity. One would expect CMPO in such an arrangement

to play the role of the prime mover as also the final approver of the consultants' detailed schemes. It would be feasible to develop a working arrangement whereby the triumvirate of CMPO-CMDA-consulting firms could meaningfully cooperate even while continuing to function within their allotted spheres. In such an arrangement (a) CMDA need have no qualms that it would not get good, implementable and 'as desired' plans, and (b) CMPO need have no apprehensions that its planning prerogative would be whisked away by CMDA and the consulting firms. That this interrelationship is not a mere hypothesis but has been duly protected under the law is evident from the fact that under the CMDA Act, the Government of West Bengal approves the schemes taken up by CMDA for execution. How does the State Government do this without the CMPO? One would like to presume, in the absence of any other evidence to the contrary, that the drafting of the CMDA Act was done in this fashion precisely because of CMPO's existence. Otherwise, this kind of government approval has little meaning, and would have been similar to the kind of approval provided for in the Calcutta Improvement Trust and Howrah Improvement Trust Acts where schemes' approval is merely administrative and not planning or technical.

There is also the question whether metropolitan planning should also be organised under the single aegis of the metropolitan development authority. While one can cite instances where such an arrangement may have taken place successfully, the basic point for consideration is whether this would be effective in so large and complex an area as is covered by CMDA. At the cost of repetition we may point out that planning functions are long-range and radical, but operational and development objectives are short-range. If the two are mixed up, the latter invariably wins at the cost of the former. Yet there are other factors also which do not make it easier to conceive of such a 'merger' of CMPO and CMDA. Firstly not all of CMPO's work is relevant to CMDA. Although CMPO primarily exists for the CMD area, the way it has evolved over the last 12 years gives it a far wider range of activities than is possible for CMDA. The talent and experience associated with CMPO, suitably dressed up, can still be

utilised to initiate state-level, subregional level and area-level physical planning. The list of works done during the last 10 years by CMPO in those fields is certainly impressive. Now that a State Planning Board and several subregional development bodies have been created in West Bengal, CMPO and the Town and Country Planning Department should be allowed to exploit the opportunities so thrown up. There is no other agency in the State to perform such a task, either on its own or in association with such other bodies as the West Bengal Industrial Development Corporation and the West Bengal Industrial Infrastructure Development Corporation. Secondly, increasing metropolitanization may eventually lead to a reformed local governmental structure where planning and development functions will have to be kept separate (but not de-linked). Planning is a prerogative of the government, but development can be carried out on an agency basis. CMDA, as at present, is not a local body which can impose and collect levies. In the event of a reorganised governmental structure for the CMD, the need for organizations like CMDA will have to be reassessed while that for CMPO will be reassured.

The Basic Development Plan published in 1966 said very clearly: "The planning agency should assist Government in the critical area which lies between planning and implementation. A planning body in such a vast complex as Metropolitan Calcutta, cannot itself assume the tasks of implementation without risking a gigantism—an unmanageable growth of responsibilities—in which the planning function will be inevitably diminished and ultimately destroyed. Yet it cannot proceed on the assumption that good plans and programmes, because they are publicly attractive and socially desirable, will therefore be automatically implemented. Executive energy must carry the programme from the stage where it is informally proposed to the point where it is officially accepted, and from there to the point where a competent body, properly placed in the Governmental structure, will proceed to execute it." Nevertheless, what exists now with regard to CMPO and CMDA is not exactly what was envisaged in the Basic Development Plan. That document primarily thought of a statutory Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Authority acting mainly through two-tier statutory functional bodies as also areawise (East bank,

West bank) planning and development bodies. On the whole, one would be inclined to comment at this point of time that the detailed administrative organization for planning and development recommended in the BDP does no longer hold valid in the existing situation. Alternatively, what holds good today has not been made very clear, which perhaps smacks of inadequacy of due attention and analysis. The field for thought and action in this area therefore is of high potential and should be deeply rewarding for its existing possibilities.

10

Budgeting for Plan Implementation

Contemporary society is confronted with problems, the magnitude of which hitherto was non-existent. The problems become all the more pressing in developing countries like India as resources fall too short of their requirements to resolve the problems. Thus, planning and budgeting are being challenged to help in coping with systematic solution of the problem and thereby making an optimal use of the available resources.

Planning and budgeting are only tools or methods for accomplishing something. Planning and budgeting are devices by which desired events or conditions are identified, steps are taken to achieve those ends and finally government is held answerable for achieving or failing to achieve those desired conditions. In this process, a distinction can be made between planning and budgeting. Planning clearly includes a strong orientation towards the identification of goals. Budgeting on the other hand is deeply involved in the allocation of resources among different expenditure heads or programmes to achieve those goals.

Planning and budgeting include:

- (i) review of the future needs and opportunities,
- (ii) the specification of realistic and recognisable objectives,
- (iii) the appraisal of possible alternative courses of action to reach these objectives,
- (iv) selection of preferred courses of action and the formulation of detailed operating plans.

To be effective, they should also include:

- (i) the specification of criteria to be used for appraisal of progress and performance,

- (ii) their inclusion in the management information system, and
- (iii) control of operations by appraisals of progress with the instigation of corrective action as deviations occur.

Public planning is generally conceived of formulating a plan for some specific target date in the future for which population is projected and based on these projections expansion of public services and facilities is suggested. As a rule, in these plans considerable attention is given to the identification of some immediate problems and suggested solutions to those problems. Under such an approach problem solving often takes precedence over the establishment of effective long-range goals and objectives to guide future development. Planning proposals are usually based on anticipated population and economic conditions. Such a planning is cumulative and linear in nature and not a goal-oriented systematic model of planning, which is based on:

1. Basic research and analysis.
2. Diagnosis of trends.
3. Statement of goals and objectives.
4. Formulation and analysis of alternatives.
5. Policy alternatives and recommendations.

There are three stages of public planning with reference to budgeting:

- (i) *Strategic Planning* is the process of identifying public goals and objectives, determining needed changes in these objectives and deciding on the resources to be used to attain them. It entails the evaluation of alternative courses of action and the formulation of policies that govern the acquisition, use and disposition of public resources.
- (ii) *Management Planning* is the process by which steps are taken to assure that resources are obtained and used effectively and efficiently in the accomplishment of public objectives.
- (iii) *Operational planning and control* is the process of assuring that the specific tasks are carried out effectively and efficiently. It refers to the measures taken to accomplish the policies, plans and programmes.

For meaningful planning and budgeting activities setting of goals and objectives is essential, because they provide the

needed framework and direction for governmental agencies. Goals provide orientation by depicting a future state of affairs which society strives to achieve. They become guidelines for governmental agencies serving the public, for action. They also contribute a source of legitimacy justifying the activities of governmental agencies. The goals, to be really direction-oriented, must be definite, realistic and have clear meaning. A goal should inspire action and provide direction for achievement.

A governmental agency is responsible to the provision of benefits and services and the distribution of these to the public. The objectives of the agency can be set on the basis of the answers to the following questions:

- (i) What type of benefits and services are to be provided?
- (ii) For whom are these benefits and services intended?
- (iii) What specific needs of the population are to be met?
- (iv) How are these benefits and services to be distributed?

The objectives should be relevant to the specific problems and end-oriented. They should be specific and realistic. An objective must have identifiable performance indicators. Specifically, an agency's objectives cover three aspects:

- | | | |
|--------------|---|----------------------------|
| (i) For whom | — | Target objectives |
| (ii) What | — | Service objectives |
| (iii) How | — | Administrative objectives. |

After defining the objectives of the governmental agency, objectives for its each functional area like, education, public health, etc., should be defined. Each functional area should have a purpose, goal or end-product which is intrinsically different from those of other functional areas. The objectives of each functional area should be translated into action programmes, so that budget can be prepared in the form of programme-packages. The programmes should be designed around a rationale of what services, function of the government has to provide to its people. Programmes are structured on the basis of 'what services' are to be provided and 'to whom'. A programme may be sub-divided into a number of sub-programmes—a breakdown of the programme into units which identify more specific service, or for a more specific segment of population. 'How' a programme will be carried out, will spell out the activities. Activities are the administrative techniques employed to carry out the programmes. A programme/sub-

programme will be broken down into the activities which illustrate how the programme is carried out.

Below is illustrated, how a programme should be chalked out and divided into sub-programmes and activities :

FUNCTION-HOUSING

<i>What?</i>	<i>Programme</i>	<i>Whom?</i>	<i>Costs</i>
Slum clearance		Slum dwellers	.....
			=====
<i>Sub-Programme A.</i>			
House Construction	How?	Slum dwellers	.....
Activity 1.	Land acquisition		.....
Activity 2.	.....		=====
Activity 3.	.....		=====
<i>Sub-Programme B.</i>			
Activity 1.	.....		.....
Activity 2.	.....		.....
Activity 3.	.....		.....
	Total cost		=====

For a functional area a budget can be prepared in the following form :

FUNCTIONAL AREA.....

<i>Inputs Programmes</i>	<i>Salaries of officers</i>	<i>Establish- ment</i>	<i>Allow- ances</i>	<i>Equipment</i>	<i>Other inputs</i>	<i>Total</i>
Programme 1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
Total						

The above method will provide a formal mechanism for relating inputs to the recognised social needs fulfilled through programmes. It will also facilitate to assess the implications of a decision of putting more resources into a particular programme. Such a form of presenting budgetary details clearly presents the fiscal information to be considered in the budget process and indicates what a department or organisation is attempting to accomplish and at what cost. It focusses attention on the entire budget of an organisation, not just increases proposed over the last year's budgets. It helps in evaluating the entire programme of an organisation, rather than just part of it. Under the present budgetary practices, a high percentage of the total government-spending is basically overlooked. It is also essential to have all the details which are currently available so long as the entire fiscal system is not changed. For this a cross classification of budgetary details, as suggested above, will be very useful.

DEVELOPING MIS

For developing an adequate and effective management information system, the informational needs of the management should be identified. "Who needs, what information, and when?" Identified informational needs on the basis of these questions have to be incorporated in the accounting, reporting and statistical systems of the organisation.

DEVELOPING MEASURES OF PERFORMANCE

By performance indicators we mean the criteria used to measure performance of programmes in achieving objectives of the organisation. They are the tools through which information for analysis and evaluation of programmes is reported. They help to measure results. The types of performance indicators may be:

- | | | |
|------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| (i) Volumetric measures | — | How much? |
| (ii) Efficiency measures | — | Unit cost? |
| (iii) Effectiveness measures | — | How well objectives achieved? |
| (iv) Benefits measures | — | What benefits and to whom? |

Performance indicators should be: (i) output oriented, (ii) relevant to the objectives of the programme, (iii) test the validity of objective, (iv) capable of meaningful quantification, (v) adequately defined, (vi) simple but informative, (vii) acceptable, and (viii) available on a continuing basis.

All these changes in budgetary structure and budgetary process and its linkage with planning needs changes in thought processes. In other words, many of the kinds of changes included in planning and budgeting require human engineering. While affecting any change, this aspect needs to be given due consideration.

11 The Madras Experience and Experiment

Madras is the largest city in South India and the fourth largest in the country. It has a population of 24.71 lakhs (1971 census). A large population clattered up in a small area is bound to create problems; housing is scarce and rentals are higher, crowded buses, compact trains, inadequate water supply make life uncomfortable. The best part of life of a man on a day have been spent in waiting for a bus or in a overcrowded bus after reaching home by this bus one may not feel fresh.

The problems will be heightened by the continuous influx of people going to the city in search of elusive jobs. This creates slums. Already a third of the population is lingering in the slum. In order to tackle the special problems of a burgeoning metropolis like Madras, the Government of Tamil Nadu set up the Madras Metropolitan Development Authority. The question of mobilisation of resources for urban development and for providing the necessary infrastructure like water supply and sewerage, traffic and transportation and housing has engaged the active attention of the Government. The perspective plan known as Madras Metropolitan Plan (1971-1991) announced by the Government envisaged an investment of Rs. 1,000 crores for developmental programmes within Madras Metropolitan region. The scheme of investment as envisaged in the plan cannot be implemented unless additional resources are raised and earmarked specifically for urban development. There are certain items of revenue already being collected in the Madras Metropolitan area for this purpose. It has also been felt that instead of going round with a hat in hand the Madras Metropolitan Development Authority itself should finance its schemes

with capital resources on a large scale. Only this can ensure that all the schemes it has on the anvil are executed promptly and wholly. It is common experience that it takes time for any one source of revenue to establish itself, a start is to be made now for mobilisation of resources on a large scale.

The Madras Metropolitan plan envisaged an annual investment of 25 crores to meet the cost of development on current prices. The estimated investment would be of the order of Rs. 35 to 40 crores. As against this, investment in the three sectors of water supply and drainage, roads and housing has been of the order of Rs. 40 crores over the Fourth Five year Plan averaging about Rs. 8 crores a year.

"The Madras Urban Development Project" (Report presented to the World Bank) which limited itself to the immediate needs in these sectors estimated the five year cost at Rs. 140 crores or an average cost of Rs. 28 crores every year including the estimated needs of bus transportation. There is not a small gap of Rs. 20 crores to be bridged.

The Madras Metropolitan Plan suggested raising additional sources of finance such as levy of taxes and taxes wage bill for financing development schemes in the Madras Metropolitan Area. The mobilisation of resources for urban development should include revenue obtained through the urban land tax, surcharge of sales tax.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT FUND

The Government have already constituted a fund known as Tamil Nadu Urban Development Fund. This Fund consists of 50 per cent of the proceeds of urban land tax and the entire surcharge on general sales tax collected in the Corporations of Madras and Madurai and Municipalities of Coimbatore, Tiruchi and Salem. The Fund came into operation in the year 1973-74. For the year 1974-75 a sum of about 5.2 crores had been provided, under this Fund. The Madras Metropolitan Development Authority can present schemes for loan from this fund so that it can raise additional resources for its schemes through financial institutions such as Nationalised Banks, Life Insurance Corporation, etc. The loans from this fund will have the general effect of mobilising capital for large-scale investment.

This is a source where money is readily available and can be spread over the various schemes which the Madras Metropolitan Development Authority has prepared.

Octroi is a cess or tax on the entry into the municipal area of goods for consumption or use or sale therein. It is levied in some municipalities with the precise purpose of mobilisation of resources for urban development. Octroi has not been very favourable with the Government at all times. The reasons have been that the incidence of tax will be transferred to the consumers, which is not desirable. Additional staff will have to be employed for the collection work. It may give room for complains of corruption and harassment if petty officials are employed. Sales tax is a major source of income in this state. It was felt that income from sales tax may go down if octroi is levied since the volume of goods transaction in the state may come down. However, as can be seen from the experience of Bombay and Calcutta Corporations, octroi is a source of revenue with great potential. Calcutta is earning 7 crores and Bombay 12 crores out of this source. It is also an ever expanding source of income to the State since the volume of goods traffic will only continuously expand and not go down. Madras Metropolitan Development Authority has calculated that this source will provide Rs. 3 crores in Madras city in the first instance. If all the schemes of Madras Metropolitan Development Authority have to be implemented within a reasonable span of time, levy of octroi will perhaps prove inevitable. This has to be treated as a necessary evil.

If for any specific and sociologically overwhelming reason, levy of octroi is considered not feasible, an alternate tax to obtain equal revenue such as a turnover tax may be levied. The Metropolitan Area houses the Central Business District where far-reaching and wide-ranging commercial activities are undertaken every day. Hence it is proper that a small part of the total commercial transaction value is available for increasing facilities which in turn will have a wholesome effect on these activities. A tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the total turnover of sales of commodities and services would yield sufficient returns without adversely affecting trade. This tax is expected to yield Rs. 500 lakhs immediately in the context of Madras Metropolitan Area.

Similarly companies make use of urban facilities without

actually paying for them. It is but proper that they contribute a small percentage for the improvement of urban infrastructure. A levy of half per cent on the current wage bill of companies in the Madras Metropolitan Area is expected to yield Rs. 100 lakhs. Whether a State Government itself can levy both the above taxes has to be considered in detail.

In order to mop up the continuously spiralling urban land values, a levy of 20 per cent of the difference between purchase and resale values of urban land and properties in the Madras Metropolitan Area is also under consideration. Only if such a step is taken, the Metropolitan Development Authority will stand to gain from the rapid and giant increases in the value of urban land. If the above step will perhaps see the phenomenon of grossly diminished urban sale values during registration, a penalty for such under registration may also be thought of. This will not take into consideration any genuinely low prices offered due to family considerations, etc. Another source will be the levy of a cess on units of electricity consumed in the Madras Metropolitan area at the rate of one paisa per unit. This may perhaps put the consumers of the Metropolitan Area at a disadvantage. Nevertheless this source has to be exploited. The collection machinery of the Electricity Board may have to be strengthened in order to see that instead of revenues pouring in, a huge figure of arrears does not mount up.

Yet another source would be the apportioning of a part of surcharge on stamp duty, similar to the 20 per cent now given to the local bodies, to be given to Metropolitan Development Authority as it is also a "Local Planning Authority".

The property tax in Madras City is now an agglomeration of many such elements like water taxes, education tax, etc. The components have to be separated and a graded increase in the various elements has to be thought of. This will perhaps put the rate-payer at a disadvantage. Compared to the services rendered to its citizens by a Corporation or a Municipality, the rates of taxes are palpably low. This has to be thought of seriously as has been done in Bombay.

The various sources of revenue suggested above are intended to augment the income of the Metropolitan Development Authority. Some of it may perhaps go to the Municipal Corporations. Since the Corporations will spend money only

on the broad guidelines and the development format issued by the Madras Metropolitan Development Authority, the same funds will be spent only for essential and chronologically and schematically for the most pressing and important items of work. The various shades of public opinion and ideological attitudes will certainly play a large role in shaping the structure of the municipal taxes. That they are necessary and a serious effort has to be made to mobilise resources on a large scale cannot be questioned. But what can be done to minimise the rigorous and sometimes harsh impact of the new levies is a matter of discussions and empirical finalisation.

Two great goals—decentralised decision-making and the equitable distribution of the costs and benefits of domestic government—challenge any effort to secure fiscal balance in our federal system. Add to this the perennial dilemma, *viz.*, the remarkable political, social and economic diversity to be found across the land and it becomes readily apparent that there is no sure-fire formula for fiscal salvation in our federal system. The various Finance Commissions have gone into this question at length and none has produced a readymade solution to the satisfaction of everyone concerned. Nevertheless it is becoming increasingly evident that believers in the federal system will have to take certain corrective actions because two powerful and closely related forces—urbanisation and growing economic interdependence—are making it increasingly difficult to reconcile the twin goals of governmental decentralisation and fiscal equity.

With each passing day, the growing economic interdependence of the nation enhances the fiscal and tax superiority of the National Government. This fact and the predisposition of the Union Government to attach detailed expenditure strings to its grants threaten the goal of decentralised decision-making. On the other hand, the strong forces of urbanisation have burst municipal boundaries in most areas leaving in them a wake of glaring fiscal disparities among the various jurisdictions. When the resources are uncertain, no metropolitan development authority can embark on any development or renewal scheme with any degree of finality and assurance. This will result in a resource based plan of action instead of a need based one. A resource based plan may leave the goals of

metropolitan development half achieved or quarter achieved depending on the availability of resources. The political splintering along income and social lines is akin to giving the rich, middle class and poor neighbourhood the power to tax, spend and zone. Such decentralization of power can and does play havoc with the goal of social justice.

SOME THOUGHTS ON SOCIAL BENEFIT COST ANALYSIS AND METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT

The main reason for doing social benefit cost analysis in project choice is to subject this project choice to a consistent set of general objectives of national policy. The choice of one project rather than another must be viewed in the context of their total national impact and this total impact has to be evaluated in terms of a consistent and appropriate set of objectives. The avoidance of complete dichotomy between project choice and national planning is one of the main reasons for doing social cost benefit analysis. It is worth remembering that social benefit cost analysis is not a technique but an approach. Projects are evaluated and judged in terms of their impact on the urban environment and this impact is evaluated by using national goals, local parameter and social facts. One can vary a large number of factors in every project what is worth varying and to what degree is judged and announced by social cost benefit analysis.

Since resources are scarce, we have to carefully judge the economic consequences of an urban development project. Valuation of project's consequences becomes a problem, assuming that these consequences can be quantified in the form of 'outputs' and 'inputs'. More simply, we are concerned with translating inputs and outputs expressed in terms of tons of steels or cement, into so much of extra income generated or social service provided. In all governmental projects for urban development, initially commercial profitability is found wanting as an index of social welfare. Neo-classical theory justifies commercial profitability as an index of social as well as private welfare. But marginal analysis will provide a better total. We assume that each urban project under consideration is a small relative to the economy as a whole that the parameters that

measure the value of project outputs and inputs are insensitive to decisions made with respect to the project in the context of the national economy. Central to this approach must be the explicit recognition that marginal analysis is more difficult to apply to project formulation and evaluation in the context of difficulty of optimal allocation of resources. When the same money can be used for constructing a dam instead of putting up a 'Sites and Services' project, market value adjusted for consumer's surplus, can be taken as an indication of its social value, at least with respect to aggregate consumption.

In the context of provision of urban services like better accommodation, recreational facilities, schools, hospitals, a better and larger water supply and sewerage system or an effective rapid transit system, social benefit-cost analysis will have to take second place. The greater consideration will be "how many people does this benefit and over what space of time?"

In this case, budgetary control and optimum social benefit analysis may have to be kept up to a certain degree. When resources are scarce and the competing demands are many, a level of subsidy by the Union Government also figures. Any control of the budget of a metropolitan authority will succeed only when the resources and their continuous flow is fairly certain and assured. The Net Present Value of a traffic and transportation project may not be possible to be calculated since the parameters are uncertain. But this cannot have the effect of throwing the project completely overboard. We may have to continuously seek resources and allocate them carefully to the various sectors.

Urban Development goals are many. But the question which a poor development authority always asks itself is "Can we afford them all?" The answer has to be "Yes". "One or two at a time". But complete rejection of development because of lack of resources will push us back by almost a century. We can neglect urban development planning and urban project implementation only at the cost of total chaos.

APPENDIX I

WHAT IS THE ECONOMICS OF A SATELLITE TOWN?

In order to assess this feature of a satellite town as an investment, discounted cash flow analysis has been made use of regarding fundamental data. The results can be presented in terms of the Net Present Value of the satellite town evaluated over a 50 years period for various discount rates in order to determine that rate of return which yields the 'break even value' of zero for the net present value of the cash flows. This is called the 'Internal Rate of Return'.

If the present

discount rate is:—	0	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
NPV (in lakhs of rupees) would be	73.3	15.0	10.5	7.1	4.5	2.4	0.8	0.4	1.3

The internal rate of return for a satellite town on the above scale is about 11 per cent and this may be too low a value to attract private investment companies if the satellite town is subject to normal income taxes, *i.e.*, investing companies are looking for investments that have a rate of return greater than 11 per cent before taxes. It is however if the same order of magnitude as the expected after tax profit rate of major corporations and so might be privately funded if special tax relief were to be granted to the entrepreneurs.

The large capital outlay required and the levy pay break period involved biggest, however, that equity financing would be difficult to obtain even in the presence of such tax relief. Bond issues may be thought of provided it satisfies certain canons set down by Government.

P. BHAGWAN DAS RAI
SAYED S. SHAFI

12 The Planned Development of Delhi : Innovation and Action

The Master Plan for Delhi, studies for which were initiated as early as 1956 was, in fact, the first-ever attempt in India to restructure an existing metropolis to meet the increasing demands expected of it after becoming the Capital of the India. In the mid 1950's, Delhi was smouldering from the after-effects of the country's partition. Apart from the numerous refugee colonies that had come up almost everywhere and unchecked squatting on public lands, unscrupulous colonisers were subdividing land without any let or hindrance. The housing shortage and land speculation was going on unabated without any regard or provision for the basic utilities or services. Long journeys to work, traffic jams, lack of essential civic amenities were among the host of problems that afflicted Delhi. It was at this point when the national leaders decided that the growth and development of the National Capital cannot be left to chance and that it needed proper planning.

When the planning exercise was initiated, it was soon discovered that even correct base maps of the Union Territory were not available; the Census Data of 1951 did not lend itself to furnish the kind of base which is a prerequisite for the planning of a complex metropolis such as Delhi. Moreover, there was no systematic record of the various developments, authorised and unauthorised, that had come about. Several ministries and departments of government, besides private agencies, were involved in some kind of development or the other. There were half-a-dozen municipal bodies in operation, exercising their limited jurisdiction in areas artificially carved out. The Planners were asked to draw a Master Plan

within six months!

It was rather obvious (to the Planners) that no meaningful plan on a comprehensive scale could be prepared in such a short time. It was felt that Delhi with its historic traditions and dynamic growth needed comprehensive treatment in a long range perspective. On the other hand, the pressure of development was acute so that everything could not be totally frozen till a detail Master Plan could be made ready. The first innovation was, therefore, the formulation of an Interim General Plan for Delhi which was prepared for the preparation of a really meaningful comprehensive Plan. This was also necessary because it was not feasible or practical to stop all development indefinitely. While the IGP had elements of a Master Plan, its duration was, however, only limited for the next few years so as to give time for undertaking such exercises as were considered essential before the formulation of a long-range plan.

The Master Plan for Delhi prepared during 1956-59 was presented in the draft form to the Delhi Development Authority which had the legal mandate to secure the planned development of Delhi. It went through a public hearing and more than 600 suggestions/objections were screened by a Committee after which the Plan was accorded legal sanction in accordance with the provisions of the Delhi Development Act. It may be noted that the Master Plan for Delhi was the first legally enforceable Plan in India. While the development of Delhi is more or less taking place in accordance with the land use pattern envisaged by the Master Plan and under the legal sanctity accorded by the Delhi Development Act and the Central Government, the city in turn in a large measure conditioned by it. In fact, the Delhi Development Act, while laying down the preparation of a land Use Plan and its elaboration through Zonal Development Plans did not, however, clearly stipulate the complex modalities of plan implementation. And though seldom appreciated, this has led to serious problems. In order to meet some aspects of this lacunae, the planners attempted to provide for its systematic implementation in the Works Studies in the form of programme for the first five years (Refer Chapter XV and X).

While appropriate methodologies were worked out for the formulation of the comprehensive Master Plan for Delhi so that it would be more realistic to the situation anticipated, the

plan aimed at balanced integrated development of Delhi in the context of its surrounding region. It aimed at:

- (a) restraining the size of population to keep city's growth within manageable limits and to provide a reasonable level of services and amenities;
- (b) comprehensive scale of planning, embracing various facets of life in Delhi Metropolitan area as well as its larger region, so that areas around Delhi could share the expanding opportunities and burdens inherent in a growth situation;
- (c) optimum location of work centres in relation to housing both to secure balanced development and minimise transport needs;
- (d) a synthesis of 'various Dillis' old and new, by forging positive linkages and furnishing the minimum acceptable living standard for all, and, to progressively equalize living conditions and community facilities in various areas.

In order to ensure planned development of Delhi certain unprecedented and far-reaching policy decisions were taken by the Government of India which, in retrospect can, in fact, be called revolutionary innovations. These were:

- (a) a decision to acquire the entire urbanizable area proposed in the Plan for 1981 including a portion of the agricultural greenbelt;
- (b) land so acquired to be developed and disposed of to actual users only on a leasehold basis and in accordance with the Land Use Plan;
- (c) except for certain categories, land was to be auctioned and profits/gains were to be ploughed back to finance projects of essential importance including much needed environmental improvements of heavily built up areas of old Delhi, development of parks and play-grounds, widening of streets and intersections, resettlement of squatters, etc;
- (d) to finance the purchase and development of such large tracts of land, Government of India created a 'seed capital' or Revolving Fund, initially of Rs. 5 crores; the profits were to be reinvested in taking up various kinds of development in accordance with the plan.

An important aspect of this land and development policy was the decision taken by the Government that, henceforth, no land, within the urbanizable area, would be sold outright on a freehold basis; only the leaseholds rights were to be auctioned to the public. While the residential plots measuring 150 sq. yds. were to be given by allotment, the larger plots and, particularly for profitable uses (commercial, shopping centres, offices, cinemas) were to be auctioned and the gains thus realized were to be ploughed back for the promotion of the essential public projects such as schools, hospitals, cultural institutions and rehabilitation of slum areas and squatters, etc.

II

Substantial achievement have been made in the implementation of the Delhi Plan since 1962. Out of a total of about 52,000 acres notified for acquisition by the Delhi Administration for planned development, about 25,000 acres of land have been developed for various purposes, such as residential, industrial, commercial and recreational. The DDA itself has built about 25,000 housing units apart from the units built by the Central Government, the Delhi Administration and the Municipal Corporation had undertaken schemes to cover fortyeight slum clearance areas and improvement of 1975 'khatras' and in the process had built a number of tenements for slum dwellers, sweepers, transit accommodation, nightshelters, etc. In addition, about 45,000 squatter families have been relocated (16,000 by MCD and 29,000 by DDA). Several new neighbourhoods have been built in accordance with standards prescribed which are not only functionally efficient but are pleasant places for living. Growth has been channelized and positive results of planning are now clearly evident. Several new neighbourhood shopping centres have come up and many public areas have been cleared of squatters and insanitary conditions and transformed into beautiful parks and gardens. The road circulation system has quite a transformation with many roads widened and key intersections improved. One underpass, three overpasses and four new bridges across Yamuna have been constructed. A new Inter-State Bus Terminal is under construction and areas have been located for truck parkings, etc. Likewise, a new Cycle Market

and Subzimandi have been built. Regarding utilities and services; water supply has been substantially augmented : as against the supply of 107 mgd in 1962 the supply as of 1973 was 186 mgd. Water distribution system has been improved and several new reservoirs have been built in the meantime. Likewise, the water treatment capacity has been raised from 96 mgd to 190 mgd. Compared to 1962, almost two-thirds of the developed area has now been covered by sewerage system. Sewerage treatment capacity has expanded from less than 50 mgd to 90 mgd in 1972. Educational facilities have also been substantially enlarged. Apart from the large number of primary and secondary schools that has been constructed, the number of colleges has increased from 26 in 1962 to 53 in 1972, raising university enrolment close to one lakh students. And there has been a large scale proliferation of cultural institutions.

Thus, compared to 1962 life in Delhi has become much more variegated and vigorous. There is no doubt that the plan has made remarkable changes in Delhi. Substantial changes in its landscape and environment are now clearly discernible. 'The city has not only expanded but in so many ways the life has become more rich and sophisticated. But for extensive capital improvement and other development programmes carried out by the DDA and other agencies, one could imagine the plight of Delhi resulting from population growth and the accelerating pace of economic activities of the past decade'. Yet, notwithstanding the positive and tangible results evident in so many directions, one cannot deny the persistence and often accentuation of the very problems the plan set itself to solve. A major reason has been the lack of overall programming and coordinated implementation for which great emphasis was given in the Work Studies, but, which, in practice, was never seriously followed. The Work Studies (which for professional planners is the real plan) laid particular emphasis on assigning the stages of development and suggested devising a system for appropriating a sense-of-sequence for the various forms of developments envisaged and for determining suitable system of priorities. In fact, the Work Studies furnished a Capital Budget for the first five years which was meant to be synchronized with the country's Third Five Year Plan.*

*See Chapter XV, *Work Studies*, pp. 414-415.

Orderly implementation of any Plan requires certain pre-requisite conditions which must be met. In the case of the Delhi Plan, first, the Master Plan itself, as stated earlier, had the sanction of law. Secondly, urban planning involves preparation of a series of plans and not a single plan, besides it needs sustained effort for implementation in an orderly sequence. Though the DDA Act provided for the preparation of the Zonal Development Plans, these ZDPs were too general in character; neither were they precise nor detailed enough to guide or direct, they were in fact miniature master plans though drawn on double the scale of the Landuse Plan (1 : 10000 against 1 : 20000). They were incapable of being implemented particularly for built-up areas. No time scale was prescribed or envisaged. Thirdly, though the DDA was 'to ensure development of Delhi according to the Plan', it had no jurisdiction in areas other than 'development areas'. In metro-areas, it had no say in the matter at all. On the other hand, in a metropolitan area the process of development being complex, an agency well aware of the myriad facets of the plan and its interlinkages should have been entrusted to prepare detailed plans, draw up an overall programme with priorities, and to supervise actual implementation by various agencies and organizations operating at different levels. Though the Work Studies of the Master Plan did contain the development programmes for the first five years covering almost every aspect of capital investments, in actual practice no overall programming was initiated covering different development agencies. The various departments and agencies of the Central Government, Delhi Administration and local municipal bodies went on with their own limited and segmented development with little concern and reference to the overall provisions of the Master Plan. This is perhaps the biggest single reason leading to inadequate implementation and can be traced to the fact that the most crucial recommendation of the Master Plan given in the 'Work Studies' requiring systematic programming of all development, involving fixing of priorities, scheduling and the need for fiscal planning measures was never seriously taken up, let alone implemented.

A few examples would illustrate this contention :

Implementation of the Delhi Plan has been carried out rather in an *ad hoc* manner. Consequently, development that

has so far taken place is not quite in the places and at the time envisioned in the Plan. Some of the prime problem areas like old Delhi and Shahdara have been completely left out. As the Review of the Master Plan made by T&CPO pointed, 'Planned development has not been taken place in a planned manner! Ironically, whatever implementation has taken place, has been mainly in response to the pressures developing from place-to-place and from time-to-time' (See p. 95 : Review of Master Plan for Delhi, T&CPO, February, 1973). This has its own consequences. The basic services lagged behind actual land development in several areas and *vice versa*, with resultant loss of opportunities, economic distress and social tensions, aside from bringing the Master Plan into disrepute. Delayed development of residential areas for lower income groups proliferated unauthorized colonies; delay in drainage schemes for the eastern part of the city has all but lost that part for planned development; failure to develop District Centres in tune has forced the much needed shopping and other uses to take root elsewhere. Instead of drawing maximum benefit from the development potential of the growth situation, lack of action frequently led to activities and uses not earlier anticipated : some activities (like numerous unauthorized shops) which have got themselves entrenched at wrong locations would be difficult to shift later; so, when eventually some of the planned shopping sites are developed, those already in existence would be in addition, resulting in disrupting the important interlocking arrangements envisaged in the Plan. Some of these 'spontaneous developments' have distorted the planning concepts integral to the Plan. The concept of District Centre is one such example, the delay in their development has seriously undermined and distorted the basic concept envisaged in the Plan. Thus, delayed development and absence of priorities would in time, extract their own price in terms of maladjustments and unexpected consequences in the community welfare. Sporadic rioting (Shahdara, Shahjahanabad) and fixes one only the outer manifestations of the causes that are deep and latent.

Another example is lack of a system of priorities for the redevelopment of Old Delhi particularly of the Walled City which has further aggravated problems which were quite acute when planning for Delhi was first initiated. Proliferation of

cattle, small manufacturing, trades and all sorts of activities in Shahjahanabad, an area extremely congested and lacking even in minimal community facilities, have further worsened a difficult situation. Another serious problem arising out of delay which would place further constraints on future redevelopment is that areas originally set aside for rehabilitation of the surplus population of Shahjahanabad have been steadily usurped by activities and 'institutions' making any renewal process even more difficult.

III

It may not be out of place here to mention the experience of planning and development for another big metropolis, namely, Calcutta which is our largest city. The exercise for its planning was initiated in early 1960s and a remarkable number of studies and surveys were undertaken to identify and analyze the situation then prevailing. A Basic Development Plan was prepared by the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organisation to direct the growth of Calcutta along sound lines. However, for a variety of reasons and perhaps due to peculiar constraints prevailing in Calcutta situation, the Basic Development Plan for Calcutta did not lay down a detailed land use pattern enforceable by law, neither was this Basic Plan statutory. The Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization also prepared a number of 'development schemes' to translate the Basic Development Plan, but the work on the Plan itself did not take off as it did not acquire any legal sanctity.

The CMPO is not a statutory organization, though it has carried out the task of preparing the Basic Development Plan. It was intended that CMPO would draw up precise plans in sufficient detail so that various schemes dovetail into each other, but apparently its attention was deflected to the implementation of certain urgent schemes to create 'immediate impression'. Nonetheless, on the basis of the Basic Plan, certain 'functional plans' in the field of traffic and transport, water supply, sewerage and drainage and 'basti improvement' had been prepared and some action was taken by various other agencies. For example, Metropolitan Rapid Transit System, some expressways, the second Hoogly Bridge and so on. More

recently (in 1970) the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority was set up to look after the implementation of various development schemes. The CMDA is currently implementing a number of programmes. As earlier stated in connection with the Delhi Plan, for a metropolitan area most developments are inter-related and inter-linked; therefore, without an overall framework, programme and time schedule, there would be less than optimum result, if not confusion as well. For example, there is not much liaison between the CMDA and the Metropolitan Transport Team. It is reported that the CMDA has been kept out of the Underground Railway Project. The latter has identified entry and exit points all along the routes which are bound to become new focal of activities. Indeed, both CMPO and CMDA as planmakers and development agencies should be vitally concerned with the Metropolitan Transport System because the new system for Calcutta would completely change the pattern of Calcutta City. This applies to other development agencies in the Calcutta Metropolitan District as well. It is rather disturbing to see that proper institutional coordination is not forthcoming between the CMDA and various other action agencies involved in the development work.

Both the Delhi and Calcutta situations, however, suffer from lack of effective action at regional levels. In Delhi, although the Master Plan assigned crucial importance to the synchronous development of the selected 'ring towns' so identified in the Plan, systematic action on a sustained basis was unfortunately not forthcoming. Following the Delhi Master Plan, the T&CPO prepared for the National Capital Region, a comprehensive regional framework which suggested a development programme that includes restructuring of the circulation network at the regional level, decentralization of certain industries and Central Government offices together with the integrated development for the provision of physical and social infrastructure in the seventeen priority towns. Unfortunately, the Delhi Plan had no jurisdiction beyond the Union Territory of Delhi and the Regional Plan is, also, mainly advisory in nature. Even areas falling within the individual States, the Regional Plan has no legal backing. Moreover, separate funds are not available. Recently, some attempts have been made to coordinate development

activities within the NCR and certain priorities have been assigned keeping within the overall frame furnished by the NCR Plan. In actual practice, however, nothing more than some land development in certain towns of the region has actually taken place. In case of Calcutta, the regional parameters are altogether missing. The CMDA as constituted, is not in a position to take up vigorous action for the regional development on a systematic basis. Although the CMDA work in Calcutta has created a perceptible impression and has led to environmental improvement, all the same, the essential strategy for regional development beyond Calcutta Metropolitan area is still missing.

IV

The experience gained in the implementation of Delhi Plan and actual development that has taken place during the last 15 years have made certain things clear. Some observations have been made earlier, but in this section we present some of the more basic inadequacies either in the DDA Act itself or in the methods adopted for the effectuation of the Plan which must be corrected to ensure maximum benefit from the planned development.

Aside from the essential regional component of any plan for a metropolis such as Delhi, Bombay or Calcutta, it must be stated that an essential pre-requisite to ensuring overall development of the areas under the influence of the big city is a statutory provision of a Plan which can enforced legally. As long as there is no mandatory provision, synchronous development according to a predetermined scale of priorities and schedule will not take place particularly in the areas surrounding the central city, inevitably resulting in the loss of opportunities and creating avoidable imbalance which, as experienced has shown, will, further worsen the situation of the central city itself. The increasing squatters in Delhi and lack of coordinated development in Calcutta are obvious examples. For the central city itself the Delhi experience has amply demonstrated that in the condition obtained in India there is a felt-need for a Plan which should be legally enforceable; even if it is not a land use plan drawn in a perspective, at least, the

plan must provide the possibility of drawing subsequent plans, precise and detailed, in response to emerging situation but within an overall framework so as to preclude unnecessary and premature sub-division of land, etc.

Another thing to be noted in this context is that it is absolutely essential that the legislation (under which the Plan is made) should also lay down as to how the Plan is to be effectuated, including, phasing, scheduling, priority system and fiscal management.

It goes without saying that, however good and comprehensive, a Plan for the development of a city is not a one-time exercise. In a dynamic situation, however flexible a Master Plan be, there is always the possibility that it would become out of tune if not reviewed and revised from time to time. Although, the DDA Act provided for review after every decade, there is a marked reluctance to have a second look at the perspective which in any case is up to 1981. Indeed the emerging realities and the changed situation demands undertaking of a new, a second exercise for the planning of Delhi that should extend our perspectives through 2001 AD.

Like all planning, spatial planning is a continuous process; indeed it involves preparation of a number of functional and precise plans and not a single overall and be-all Plan. Precise plans are required to furnish detail and finegrain treatment of the specific problems and issues. Unfortunately, this has been a serious lacunae in the enabling legislation under which the Delhi Plan was prepared. The DDA Act provided besides the Master Plan only the preparation of Zonal Development Plans. And that was all.

The major defect of the Act lies primarily in the specifications prescribed for the so-called Zonal Development Plans. And not only that. They are also inherited in the projected relationship implied in the DDA Act between the Zonal and Master Plans and, in fact, in the specifications given for the Master Plan itself.

A Master Plan, it may be reiterated is a Plan, but not the only one. It is not essentially a map. It is not a pre-eminently a device for dividing Delhi into 'zones'. It is not *alone* a land use scheme. The distinct features of a well conceived Master

Plan are: (a) the comprehensiveness, (b) its general character, (c) its schedule (time sequence), and (d) its directive role in the matters of public policy determination.

While it may be that the Master Plan for a city or metro-area is expressed in the physical forms (maps, charts, plans, diagrams) and it envisages development of areas it embraces, its background includes social, economic, demographic, topographic, political and other relevant data. If a Master Plan is to serve as the guiding blue-print for Delhi's future development, it is imperative that the specifications as elaborated in the Act should be *adequate in their scope* and *appropriate in their emphasis*. And in addition to a pertinent definition, it would be to have a provision which permits the planning authority to prepare and adopt still other general or specific plans/projects/schemes for city's development as may be required from time to time and for place to place. It needs iteration that the scope of a Master Plan should not be limited only to physical aspects of planning, *i.e.*, land use or zoning, because the perspective that is furnished by a Comprehensive Master Plan is functional, not a real. The zoning concept of the devolution of the Master Plan, as provided in the present DDA Act, is, therefore, artificial and impracticable experience has also amply demonstrated it to be so. In fact, the concept of 'zoning' and Zonal Development have been completely confused in the present Act. Zoning, as commonly understood, refers to the legal regulation by district (or zones) of the use of an area/property. The Zonal Development Plans, as described in the present Act, are more in the nature of miniature Master Plans. Not only this, the Act has made it mandatory that ZDPs for all the zones into which Delhi is divided *must* be prepared. And such plans must include a site plan presumably for the whole zone; specify population densities, specify the location of public building, show the areas of development and the area required for the development and certain other elements relevant to the entire zone including building heights, architectural control etc.

In actual practice it is neither feasible nor desirable (or even practical) to get all ZDPs prepared within a brief span of time. Such a provision in the Act as emanated from an erroneous understanding of the planning process; which, unfortunately, encourages premature and promiscuous development, but for

several areas it virtually freezes a development pattern largely before it is actually required for use.

While, at the end of the scale, for built-up areas, ZDPs such as they are defined and prepared, do not go far and have, in fact, proved most inadequate and entirely ineffective. Some of them can in fact be considered totally incapable of implementation. As the Review of the Delhi Master Plan pointed out, 'the ZDPs have proved to be of utterly no use for built-up areas, of little use in partially or sparsely built-up areas and only of marginal utility in virgin areas. In new areas, however, invariably ZDPs have been followed by detailed layout and sub-divisional plans'. (Review of the Delhi Master Plan, p. 80).

What is really needed in place of the ZDPs in the concept of 'precise plans'. Though no exact specifications of the 'precise plan' may be made in the Law other than an itemization of the topics of subjects with which precise plans may deal and brief description of the objectives and key features for the execution of such plans. Thus, it should enable the planning agencies to prepare a number of precise plans involving many different areas, large and small. Although the precise plans are always *ad hoc*, they must conform to the Master Plan and must be within the general frame furnished by it and its circulation network. This scope of the precise plan could, of course, be further amplified, once the need of the change of the ZDP concept is accepted.

To be capable of implementation, a properly prepared Comprehensive Plan is required to be translated into a series of plans depending upon the actual situation, resource position and the acuteness of the problems to be dealt with. It must also be recognized that, since a comprehensive plan for a big city involves many facts of life, it is not possible for any single agency to implement all the programmes and projects that may be required for the planned development. Hence, the necessity of designating one coordinating authority which though not necessarily concerned itself with each and every aspect of development, nonetheless, should be responsible to prepare and coordinate all the key elements of development. However, this can only be achieved if overall programming is done on a regular basis with active cooperation of the various developmental agencies and departments concerned. An essential part

of this exercise would be fiscal planning and management measures which in turn must be linked with the national Five Year Plans, annual plans and, also, in case of Delhi, with the programmes and plans of the concerned States.

It is not often realized that in important aspect to ensure proper development is the fact of interdependence, interlinkages and interlocking arrangements which are built in a Plan. The Plan presages a sense of sequence, timing and efficient execution of various components of a project or schemes. For instance, in Delhi Plan, the development of District Centres to an extent ensures the polycentric development of the city and so has the intrinsic relationship envisaged between the places of work and living. If these are not developed according to a pre-determined sequence or there is a considerable delay, this would inevitably have repercussions on other areas and uses. This is vital, has immediate consequences besides long range implications. To ensure the execution of various projects not only in time, but in their relationship with other needs, it is essential that a system of priority determination and scheduling should be developed within the coordinating agency in which the various agencies/departments involved are represented. Such institutional arrangements will not only ensure proper coordination but will also make it possible to exchange information in regard to the various projects of the various departments, besides making them aware of what is being done by others.

In conclusion, it may be reiterated that plan preparation and plan implementation are not two separate or distinct functions. They are factors of the same process. Unless the planners are fully involved in the execution of their plans and are made an integral part of the advisory process through which key decisions are taken at various phases of implementation of projects (or in altering, changing or modification of plans) serious aberrations will be caused by faulty execution or untimely implementation which cannot always be anticipated or corrective action taken until irrevocable damage is already done to the structure and concept of the plan (Random examples: location of C-Power Station against considered opinion of planners, the location of a huge military complex adjacent to Tuglakaabad, and proposal to locate a dry port in Delhi).

The dynamic character of metropolitan planning demands

that the plan preparation and plan implementation are made inseparable functions in order to obtain maximum benefit from the planned development for the people living in the city.

13

A Review of the Planning Process in the Union Territory of Delhi

Planning is a continuous process involving plan formulation, plan approval and plan implementation. Whether it is the comprehensive Master Plan for Delhi or the Basic Development Plan for Calcutta, its success would depend not merely on how all the plan is formulated, but also on how effectively it is implemented.

Unfortunately, it is a common experience that many good plans fail to be properly implemented for want of adequate administrative machinery, appropriate legal tools and financial budgeting. In order to assess how far the legal, institutional and policy factors here really hampered the implementation of development programmes in the Union Territory of Delhi, Planning Commission recently reviewed two development programmes through the different stages of the planning process. These programmes were : road and road transport programmes and health programmes. The present note is an attempt to set out the main findings of this review. The objective here is mainly the diagnosis of the problem, viz., the identification of the bottlenecks in the different stages of the planning process.

Delhi is a Union Territory without a legislature of its own. It has no separate funds of its own, and has to operate upon the Consolidated Fund of the Government of India. Keeping in view the basic political and social objectives of the Government and the general guidelines issued by the Planning Commission regarding formulation of five year plan, the various departmental heads formulate sectoral schemes and present these to the Planning Department of Delhi Administration which in turn, after ascertaining the viability/soundness of the schemes, from

technical and economic points of view, incorporate these proposals, in the development plan of Delhi Administration. This plan is considered in a meeting of the officers of the various departments held under the chairmanship of the Chief Executive Councillor and, thereafter the modified version is submitted to Planning Commission for its approval.

The autonomous or statutory bodies like Delhi Transport Corporation, Delhi Development Authority, Delhi Electric Supply Undertaking, Delhi Milk Supply, etc., prepare their own plans. Delhi Administration which is responsible for the preparation of an overall plan for the Union Territory, does not even know as to what these various agencies plan to do. It is also not in a position, in the absence of these plans, to set overall objectives for the plan of the Union Territory. This is a serious problem which impinges heavily on the comprehensiveness of planning in the Union Territory of Delhi. Efforts are being made by the Planning Commission for proper coordination of the plans of these various agencies and to bring these into a consistent and integrated framework.

Apart from the serious problem of lack of proper coordination of the plans of various agencies, even within a particular sector, there are more than one agencies responsible for the planning and execution of the development programmes. For instance, in case of road programmes, there are three different executive agencies responsible for construction and maintenance of roads of Delhi, namely, PWD in Delhi Administration, Delhi Municipal Corporation and New Delhi Municipal Committee. Besides these, three agencies, Ministries of Transport and Railways also come into the picture for the planning and implementation of certain programmes like constructing roads of economic importance or over-bridges. Lack of forward planning and coordination, inefficient organization and lukewarm attitude taken by officials considerably affect the formulation and implementation of road programmes.

A similar story is repeated in case of health services programme too. There is no single health agency responsible for planning health-care services in Delhi. These services are provided by an admixture of officials, semi-officials and private agencies such as New Delhi Municipal Committee, Delhi Municipal Corporation, Delhi Administration, Cantonment Board,

Central Government, Delhi Development Authority, Railways, Employees' State Insurance Corporation and voluntary organizations. This has resulted in serious geographical imbalances in the location of health services.

In order to reduce this geographical imbalance and to provide health services to a large sector of population in West Delhi and across Jamuna, it was decided as early as 1964-65, to set up two 500-bedded hospitals in Hari Nagar and Shahdara. This proposal had to be routed through various authorities. Delhi Development Authority had to be approached for indicating site plan and cost of land, and the Land Acquisition Office for evacuating the unauthorized occupation of the selected site. The Chief Architect in the Directorate General of Health Services prepared the plan outline on the basis of normal requirements and the Delhi Administration Zone of CPWD worked out the preliminary estimates. The unending correspondence between these authorities took more than five years. This timelag could have perhaps been reduced to some extent, if there was any standardization of scale of accommodation, nature of specialities, scale and quality of equipment, staffing pattern, etc., and if there was a technical cell in the Delhi Administration who could assist the Chief Architect, Directorate General of Health Services and CPWD in preparing the plan outline and preliminary estimates.

In July every year the various departments of Delhi Administration are required to send to the Finance Department their revised estimates for the current financial year and the budget estimates for the forthcoming financial year. After preliminary scrutiny in the local finance department, these proposals are sent to the Ministry of Home Affairs, concerned Administrative Ministries and Ministry of Finance. On clearance by the Ministry of Home Affairs and respective administrative Ministries, these proposals are sent to the Ministry of Finance for final compilation into Delhi Area Demand. It is voted on behalf of Ministry of Home Affairs.

After the plan is approved by the Planning Commission, the various departments forward detailed proposals to the respective administrative Ministries for administrative approval and expenditure sanction. These proposals are scrutinised very closely by the various units concerned in the Ministry.

This causes undue delay and the job of follow-up becomes very difficult. This, however, is unavoidable as Delhi is a Union Territory without legislature and the responsibility of accountability to people vests in the administrative Ministries for the respective sectors and not with the Delhi Administration. The Ministries issue the administrative approval and expenditure sanction after satisfying themselves about the need and soundness of the proposal and in concurrence with the Ministry of Finance. Due to this cumbersome procedure, these sanctions are in many cases, issued very late resulting in lapse of funds.

If Delhi Administration submits the proposals quite in advance of Plan approval, these are generally objected to by the Ministries for want of plan provision. There is some further delay as the Ministries forward these proposals to their executive wing for scrutiny. For instance, the health proposals would be sent to the Director General of Health Services for technical scrutiny. Lack of standardization and continuous revision in cost estimates due to ever increasing prices are perhaps two main factors causing delay in quick scrutiny and approval of the proposals.

All schemes costing more than Rs. 50 lakhs are to be cleared by the Expenditure Finance Committee which is headed by Secretary (Expenditure) and is represented by representatives of Ministry of Finance and concerned Ministry. The Public Investment Board also sometimes figures in the picture. This further delays the sanction. To illustrate, it may be pointed out that the proposals to set up a general hospital in Hari Nagar was first referred to Expenditure Finance Committee in November 1967 and a revised memorandum was submitted in December 1969. The Public Investment Board raised number of queries on this memorandum in August 1973 which were promptly replied. However, this case is still pending with Expenditure Finance Committee till this day. Same is the case with proposal to set up a general hospital at Shahdara.

After crossing the numerous hurdles in the plan formulation and plan approval, the stage of implementation is reached which is also not free from the evils of multiplicity of institutions and procedural wrangles. In fast developing cities like Delhi, acquisition of land presents the first serious problem in implementation of a scheme. Programmes like road widening, parking

areas, etc., hardly make any headway due to delays caused in the acquisition of land. Even when Delhi Development Authority makes a site available, it might have been occupied illegally by squatters. Delhi Administration has to initiate proceedings for their evacuation through Land Acquisition Officer. This itself takes some years during which the cost of land goes up substantially requiring revision of estimates and fresh approval for these revised estimates.

The difficulties experienced by the Delhi Transport Corporation for the central and nodal points, bus bays and workshops are well known. In case of the Hari Nagar and Shahdara hospitals, the area of the land allotted by Delhi Development Authority was far below the requirements. In case of Hari Nagar Hospital, the site was changed thrice.

The recent ban on non-functional buildings is impeding the progress of many schemes. Even hospital buildings are not exempted from this ban. Short supply of essential equipment like rollers and construction material like steel, bitumen have greatly affected the pace of work of road programme. Delhi Transport Corporation could acquire only two double-deckers last year against 90 sanctioned.

The soaring prices completely upset all the estimates. Before the estimates could be revised in the light of increased costs of material, upward revision of salaries, etc., these become outdated. It is, therefore, very common for the Administrative Ministries and the Ministry of Finance, particularly the Expenditure Finance Committee to find fault with such estimates as either low or on the higher side. If this is taken care, queries may be raised about plan provision or its phasing over years. It is, therefore, no surprise that major schemes like a general hospital are not cleared over a decade.

The multiplicity of organisations coupled with elaborate procedures for each of these organisations often hampers the progress. Setting up of a general hospital involves construction of hospital buildings, staff quarters, provision of water and electric supply (with standby generators), purchase of quality equipment, recruitment of staff, etc. This necessitates approaching different Ministries and the autonomous agencies within Delhi Union Territory.

To conclude, it may be inferred that the problems arising

during the planning process in Delhi are mainly due to the multiplicity of organizations, lack of coordination at various levels and procedural delays which are partly due to the peculiar political set-up of the Union Territory. Thinking is already going on to devise ways and means of ensuring proper coordination and integration of the plans of the various agencies within the existing framework of planning and decision-making structures. Procedural delays are to some extent unavoidable but these can be minimised by timely formulation and submission of plan proposals, establishing effective liaison controls between administrative Ministries of the Government of India and the Delhi Administration and through several informal procedures by which delays could be cut and implementation expedited. However, unless concerted and determined action on these fronts is simultaneously taken, the present bottlenecks hampering the planning process, will continue.

14

Kanpur Plan and its Implementation

Before independence Kanpur was the unrivalled industrial metropolis of northern and central India. Even today it is second only to Delhi. It owes its pre-eminence to historical factors as well as to its geographical location as a communication Centre. It is significant that till the construction of the Garhmukteshwar bridge in recent year the Ganga bridge at Kanpur was the only all weather crossing up stream of Allahabad.

The city of Kanpur with its area of 114.55 sq. miles¹ is spread for 17 miles along the southern bank of the river Ganga which also marks the district boundry. Across the river lies the rather under-developed district of Unao with the district headquarters only 11 miles away on the arterial Lucknow Road. Needless to say that this has raised problems not only of municipal jurisdictions but also inter-district development and regulation.

The Table at page 164 gives the trends of population growth since 1911.

It was the Census of 1941 during the Second World War that showed the doubling of the city's population. The decennial rate of increase has since shown a downward trend. Nevertheless as will be seen from the last column the actual addition to the population of Kanpur each year has been steadily going up being over 30,000 per annum during 1961-71. This has been an enormous strain for Kanpur's infrastructure.

¹*Master Plan for Kanpur 1968-1991* (Mimeo), prepared by Town and Country Planning Department, U.P. (Mimeo), p. 17.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Percentage increase</i>	<i>Average arrival addition</i>
1911	1,78,557	—	—
1921	2,16,436	21.2	2,388
1931	2,43,755	12.6	2,732
1941	4,87,324	99.9	24,357
1951	7,05,383	44.7	21,806
1961	9,71,062	37.6	26,566
1971	12,75,242	31.3	30,418

Nor do the employment opportunities appear to have grown in proportion to this influx. In fact there is evidence of relative industrial stagnation as there has hardly been any rise in the number of industrial workers.² The Table at page 165 shows the daily employment in various types of industries.

Between 1951 and 1965 there was an addition of 4 lakhs of population and it would appear that the economic base of the city has not been able to keep pace with this growth. It is not, therefore, surprising that the environment has been deteriorating fast and if there is any other metropolitan area that matches the basic deficiencies of Calcutta, it is Kanpur.

THE KANPUR IMPROVEMENT TRUST

The idea of an Improvement Trust was mooted in a communication from Sir John Hewett to the Government of India in 1907 pointing out the necessity of providing model dwellings, preparation of schemes for demolition of insanitary areas and constructing broad roads through hearts of congested areas, which required assistance from the Government of India. 'It will be necessary to form for each place an Improvement Trust and to vest in this Trust the amount provided by the Government. These objects being provided for by legislation the Trust for each place would proceed to investigate the direction in which the town requires particular attention and to prepare plans and other details for constructing one or more broad

²*Master Plan for Kanpur, 1968-1991, op. cit., p. 25.*

Industrial Types	Total Employment			
	1951	1962 ^a		1965 ^a
	Units	Workers	Workers only	Workers
Forests & Beverages	37	3801	3312	59
Textiles	21	50272	53613	58
Wood & Woodwears	Not Available		186	Not Available
Printing and Publishing	"	"	621	"
Leather and Leather goods	"	"	6988	"
Chemical industries	13	934	1649	27
Metal based industries	19	2312	5299	79
Machinery and Transport Equipment	45	2405	4995	118
Total	135	59724	76663	341
				70069

^aMaster Plan for Kanpur, 1968-69, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

^aThe figures for 1951 and 1965 are taken from an article, 'Industrial Prospects' by Kamia Prasad and presented at International Seminar on Kanpur Region held at IIT Kanpur in January-February, 1967.

roads through the congested areas. It was stated that a beginning had already been made at Cawnpore'.⁵ The provision of model dwellings and planning of town extension was also considered at the Sanitary Conference held at Naini Tal in 1908 which concluded that 'it is not only desirable but essential to lay down plans regulating the features of growing towns. The conference recommended that there were strong reasons for constituting a special body in each case and recommended that Trust should be constituted for towns contemplating large extension or improvement schemes with borrowed money'.⁶ A draft bill remained pending and during the intervening first War Years there was rapid growth leading to the appointment of an expert Cawnpore Expansion Committee which submitted its report in 1917. The report made far reaching proposals which led to the passing of U.P. Town Improvement Act, 1919 and the establishment of the Kanpur and Lucknow Trusts in December, 1919 and Allahabad a year later. Trusts for Agra, Varanasi and other towns in U.P. were not established till 1949 and after.

The Cawnpore Extension Committee had recommended large scale acquisition under two major South City Extension and factories and workmen areas schemes south of G.T. Road, which were duly notified under the 1919 Act, which contained special provisions for land acquisition; compensation being determined on the basis of use to which the land was put on the date of notification—any unlawful use being disregarded. There were also further provision in respect of insanitary buildings. The land notified under these schemes was still being acquired in the sixties.

The Improvement Trust Act was by no means a town planning law but it was oriented to execution of piecemeal schemes of improvements and extension. Locational decisions were taken and neighbourhoods or industrial areas developed as *ad hoc* isolated areas without the framework of land use.

THE KANPUR DEVELOPMENT BOARD

The alarming growth of Kanpur with the onset of the

⁵O.P. Aggarwala, *Town Improvement Trusts in India*, Delhi, 1945, p. 65.

⁶*Ibid*, p. 67.

Second World War found the Trust inadequate to meet the challenge and it was replaced by a Development Board under the Cawnpore Urban Area Development Act 1945. The Board differed from the Trust in respect of the following:

- (i) The President of the Development Board was to be a full-time paid person of the rank of Commissioner or if a public person of a Minister. He had full executive powers.
- (ii) The composition was broad based and included the District Magistrate, President, Cantonment Board, Labour Commissioner of U.P., Chairman and three members of Municipal Board and sixteen non-officials nominated by Government representing various interests and functional groups.
- (iii) Water Supply Sewerage and waste disposal were placed under its direct charge, the municipal Board being only water-tax and water charge collecting agency. It was to be the City Transport agency, which it organized.
- (iv) Overriding powers over the Municipal Board apart from having direct powers in respect of regulation of development; as also power of supervision and direction or action in default on part of Municipal Board.
- (v) Vesting of the Municipal Board in the event of its Supersession—although this never happened.

The whole scheme of the Act was to fill up the gaps in the Municipal mechanism and strengthen the Board for execution of schemes including water works and sewerage. On the planning front the new Act was no different from the U.P. Improvement Trusts Act of 1919, which continued to apply in other cities.

KANPUR MASTER PLAN 1948-49

Nevertheless the Development Board was plan conscious and under the guidance of Mr. Albert Mayer, steps were initiated for preparation of a Master Plan in 1947 based on an aerial physical survey with detailed photography and a civic survey. The result was a land use and communication outline plan drawn up with speed but without a statutory backing. The plan covered an area with a radius of 10 miles south of the

Ganges which was the boundary of the Kanpur Development Board. Nevertheless, in the hands of a competent authority with necessary technical expertise, it became a practical instrument of urban development guidelines for location of land uses and alignment of roads—which the Board was able to enforce because of its extensive continuous acquisition and development activities under the schemes handed down from the time of Improvement Trust or further notified under the new Act. All lands needed by the State and Central Governments by private companies and other agencies had to be obtained only from the Development Board, which could assign them within the framework of the plan. The University, IIT and Institute of Sugar Technology, the new industrial areas followed the Master Plan by and large. Even the alignment of the new link of national highway 2 to Lucknow road with another over-bridge across the Ganges was determined with slight adjustment of the Master Plan outer ring road.

This Master Plan with its estimated population of 12 to 14 lakhs in 20 years provided the basis for the preparation of detailed comprehensive project by a special Project Division for the augmentation of water supply and extension of sewerage and drainage system for the city and the Cantonment area during 1949-52. The Kanpur Electric Supply Administration (now a constituent of the State Electricity Board) as also the Railway authorities worked out their future plans of expansion with reference to the Master Plan.

The Master Plan was not, however, followed by a detailed programme planning and Project Formulation except for Water Supply and Sewerage. The land development and housing programmes were taken up on the basis of annual budgeting depending on the availability of funds.

The other deficiency was the absence of a systematic regulation of the developmental activities which continued to be governed by two methods:

- (a) traditional bye-laws in respect of the existing areas; and
- (b) the conditions of the lease deed in respect of new areas which prescribed set-backs, covered area and use, which have come in for a considerable degree of violation particularly after a merger of the Development Board

with the Municipal Corporation as indicated in the following paragraphs.

THE KANPUR NAGAR MAHAPALIKA

The vesting of wide powers in the Development Board and the anomalous position about the water works being managed by it while the Municipal Board was to raise the revenues and transfer them to the Development Board led to considerable friction between the two bodies. The State Government looked to the city of Bombay as the model, where Improvement Trust was merged in the Corporation and the U.P. Nagar Mahapalika Adhiniyam 1959 incorporated the usual features of the Improvement Trust or Development Boards Acts in Chapter XIV so that a fully elected body took over the development functions. A special Standing Committee, the Development Committee dealt with the development operations covered by a separate Development Fund under the account rules as well as a development budget. For the first time the Act provided in Section 383 that the 'Mahapalika may and, if so required, by the State Government shall prepare in the manner and subject to the conditions prescribed by rules made in this behalf a Master Plan for the city,' all schemes and proposals for urban development were required to be in conformity with the Master Plan and the schemes already in force under the Improvement Trust and Development Board Acts were not affected.

THE CONTROLLING AUTHORITY

The above provision was, however, hardly made use of. In the meantime another enactment for controlling development had been enforced, viz., on the Regulation of Building Operations Act, 1958 (RBO) which set up a controlling authority for the entire area of the Kanpur Master Plan (which had practically been adopted as the jurisdiction of the Kanpur Nagar Mahapalika) along with an area of 4 miles on either side of the Unao/Lucknow Road across the river stopping short of the Unao municipal boundary. The controlling authority was presided over by the Commissioner of the Division with the Collectors of Kanpur and Unao, the Chief Town Planner as

well as Secretary, LSG, the Deputy Mayor of the Mahapalika, etc., as members and the Municipal Commissioner or Mukhya Nagar Adhikari (MNA) of the Mahapalika as the prescribed authority. Rules made and directions issued under the Act provided for building control as well as notification and enforcement of a Master Plan for the Regulated area. This is the principal mechanism on which various urban areas in U.P. have been relying for controlling development in the absence of a proper Town Planning Act.

As far the Kanpur Nagar Mahapalika area is concerned the MNA is the operating authority both under the RBO Act and the Nagar Mahapalika Adhiniyam and the only effect of applying the RBO Act was to control and regulate the discretion of the MNA and quick issue of directions by the State Government. But the jurisdiction of the Controlling Authority extended beyond into Unao district and it is here that the MNA was enabled to operate for regulating development, which he otherwise was unable to do. But it has been seen that in the absence of appropriate field level organisation, the actual impact has been marginal. It was again the RBO Act and the rules made thereunder that were pressed into service for notification and sanction of the Master Plan 1968-1991.

THE MASTER PLAN 1968-91

It was in 1962 that the Town and Country Planning Department, U.P., took up the preparation of Kanpur Plan and Survey Division for the city was set up. A draft plan was put up to the Nagar Mahapalika, which on the advice of the State Government, published it for public objections over a 80-day period⁷ during which adequate publicity was given by displaying maps and charts to the public and the press. In the meantime the Mahapalika Council was replaced by the Administrator and the Controlling Authority proceeded with examination of objections and personal hearings. The plan was finally approved by the Controlling Authority with some modifications, on January 1, 1968, for submission to State Government. The signatories included the Collector of Unao.

⁷Kanpur Master Plan, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

The revised Master Plan was largely built upon the Master Plan of 1948-49, in which alterations were necessitated, though developments during the intervening period had been broadly according to Plan. An important part of the new plan was the identification of use zones, prescription of densities and other standards to be followed for regulating future development largely on the pattern of Delhi Plan. The plan envisaged a population of 17 lakhs by 1981 and 21 lakhs in 1991. It sought to increase the residential area from 6,958 acres to 21,669 acres and total developed area from 21,902 acres to 46,040 acres by 1991. It was desired that the implementation can be spread over three stages each of seven year period. It was envisaged to be only a guideline for three phases to cover the immediate needs, potential needs and long term needs. The Controlling Authority, however, was not the implementing agency. It was merely a regulatory body. It stressed the needs of phasing development activities taking into account the resources of the implementing agency.⁸

The Master Plan was deemed by the framers to an interim plan to provide the guidelines before 'a comprehensive Master Plan can be completed for implementation'. 'The development of the urban core and the surrounding metropolitan area will, till such time as comprehensive plan is made, be solely guided by the Master Plan which is intended to provide an outline for planned development during next two to three years, by which period a comprehensive Development Plan is expected to be completed'.⁹ The plan also underlined the regional aspects to cover areas within the distance of 50 miles south of the river. The need to unify Unao-Kanpur as a major metropolitan area was regarded as urgent and imperative.¹⁰ It was envisaged that a regional plan will in due course emerge with a three tier break-up, viz., Rural-Urban Centres within the range of 10 to 20 miles, Urban Satellities—a number of existing small towns with a radius of 20 to 40 miles and Peripheral Towns beyond.

IMPLEMENTATION AND NAGAR MAHAPALIKA

As indicated above the Nagar Mahapalika became the

⁸Kanpur Master Plan, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁹*Ibid*, p. 1.

¹⁰*Ibid*, p. 10.

principal implementing agency with the merger of the Development Board into the Corporation and the formation of a Development Committee with a Statutory Development Fund in respect of land acquisition and development and housing activities. Water Supply and Sewerage projects came to be merged with the general budget but in view of the detailed project that had been formulated earlier and was now being carried forward by a Division of the Local Self-Government Engineering Department of the State, a continuity in development of these projects was maintained. Nevertheless the operations regarding land acquisition and development as well as housing tended to slow down and over-shadowed by the growing current problems of maintenance of existing core and other built-up areas which dominated the deliberations of the Nagar Mahapalika. Even some of the capital resources of the Development Fund got diverted to current needs that should ordinarily have been met from the revenue account of the Mahapalika.

Already in the early sixties the State Government had taken note of these trends and the Uttar Pradesh Avastha Vikas Parishad Adhiniyam, 1965 was passed in 1966 to set up a state-wide Housing and Development Board with units in different urban areas. This Act combined the functions of a Housing Board as well as an Improvement Trust on the lines of similar legislation in Tamil Nadu. This new Board, however, could be no substitute for a metropolitan planning and development authority. The Master Plan, therefore, remained only a broad land use and road alignment guide insofar as development of new areas were attempted by the Nagar Mahapalika. There was no attempt at overall long-term planning to speak nothing of programme integration. Kanpur continued to be a city in crisis without a concerted plan of action.

KANPUR DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY

Following the recommendation of the Conference of Ministers of Housing and Town Planning, the State Government came up in 1973 with new legislation, viz., the Uttar Pradesh Urban Planning and Development Act, 1973, which is an adaptation of the Delhi Development Act, 1957 and Development Authorities have been constituted for all the Kaval Towns. The

Kanpur Development Authority (KDA) has the Secretary Local Self-Government as the Chairman and the Administrator of the Corporation (which is without an elected Council) as the Vice-Chairman. The Deputy Administrator is the Secretary of the authority. For the time being it amounts no more than to separate the Development Fund and its activities—assets and liabilities from the overall budget and accounts of the Mahapalika. Organizationally the authority has yet to take an independent form rather than being tied to the apron strings of the Mahapalika. It will take it sometime to get back to the status and authority wielded by the Development Board twenty years ago. The transition need be cut short as much as possible.

A feature of the new Authority is its wider area of operation. The area lying in the Unao district across the river to the extent it was regulated by the Controlling Authority will now be under the Authority's jurisdiction, which will also extend to 8 km. beyond the existing boundary of the Mahapalika. The Controlling Authority has been replaced by the KDA and all the bye-laws, directions, rules or regulations in force earlier under the RBO Act or the Mahapalika laws will continue in force insofar as they are not inconsistent with the U.P. Planning and Development Act, 1973, until altered, replaced or repealed under this Act. The KDA thus becomes the only planning and development authority for the area.

However on the implementation front, Kanpur has a long way to go. The present range and extent of implementation continues to be in the former style and it is time that new perspectives are opened up. The Master Plan requires scrutiny and a more detailed formulation followed by an overall comprehensive development programme up to 1991. On the planning side some regional perspective need be identified as pointed out in the Master Plan document.

More important is the urgency of a multidisciplinary exercise to work out an Integrated Development Programme for 1975-79 the remaining years of the Fifth Plan in the light of Guidelines for the Scheme of Integrated Urban Development issued by the Ministry of Works and Housing of the Union Government. This calls for pooling of resources and integration of programmes of the various agencies at work in the metropolitan area, to say nothing of strengthening of the Nagar

Mahapalika for streamlining its machinery of taxation, assessment and collection to make an effective contribution to the development of Kanpur.

15 Goals and Strategies for City Planning— Lessons from Planning of the Calcutta Metropolitan District

The city, 'man's noblest creation' can not be desirably controlled by *ad hoc* decisions and actions. In order to provide directions and dimensions to its growth and development, it is necessary first to know its physical and socio-economic characteristics with an idea of its probable and possible functions and qualities. This is no doubt by itself a gigantic task, since it not only involves experts from various fields with flood of new knowledge enriching them daily, but also when complexity is involved, in making a synthesis of all fields not through a system of computer-based mathematical models but on the basis of transforming guessing games into knowledge. This situation is nearer to reality in India where systems analysis and computer-based mathematical models do not as yet play a great part in the process of systematic plan-making for a city or a region as well as where factional regional politics play a decisive role in planning and development.

To a Town and Country Planner, whose primary task is to visualise forms and identify functions of a city, the first step appears to be to identify and formulate a set of attainable goals of planning over time for the city, *i.e.*, what roles the planner expects the city to play and what functions he expects it to perform to the optimum satisfaction of the society and consistent with the resources available over time. Drawing attention to one of the most complex urban situations of the world, *i.e.*, the Calcutta Metropolitan District, three kinds of important issues and questions arose while formulating such a

set of goals. These can be summarised as follows :

1. Since goals must bear a close relationship with public interest, the question arose as to who should decide the goals. Should it be the City Planner, or the decision-makers or the Public, or a combination of them ? and how ?
2. Since for having a rational plan we must have adequate and necessary information, do we have them for the Calcutta Metropolitan District to build up a plan with a definite set of goals ?
3. Recognising that planning is not a simple technical process and mere quantified cost/benefit analysis does not reveal ultimate truth in an organic situation, but at the same time assuming that goals could be ascertained in relation to public interest at a particular point of time, the question still remains as to how a Town and Country planner should reflect goals on a physical plan recognising the fact that goals are not static and can not remain so over time.

The last point is a very important one from a Town Planner's point of view and therefore needs little more explanation. At one time it was held that poverty and slums were deserts of the inferior in a urban situation and necessary for social progress. Subsequently it was held that slums and bad housing were the cause of ill health, crime, delinquency, etc., and should therefore be demolished to provide new housing for those displaced. But today this view has again undergone some change since we have accepted that a slum represents a tightly knitted social system with some security and that to demolish it completely would not only be costly financially but also be cruel socially. And, therefore, the concept of slum improvement and not slum removal is being used in the Calcutta Metropolitan District. We do not know what objective will be attached to this problem in the course of next twenty five years or so with its implication on the physical plan now being prepared. This, however, excludes the idea that nothing should be done now to meet the problems associated with slums as these are seen today, but what is thought and projected to be a brave and imaginative solution at this point of time may look very timed and insignificant to the posterity.

It is quite clear from above that to prepare a comprehensive plan for a Metropolis like Calcutta on the basis of a fixed set of long-range goals, often based on incomplete information, is somewhat beyond the logical capacity of a planning organization, though it could forcefully be argued that professional planners, with the help of all other concerned, would be able to provide a better direction and dimension to what are likely to happen in future in a city. With some emphasis it may be told that such goal identification is typically imbedded in the ideological heritage of professional planners who are still in the process of developing it as a profession in India. This professional responsibility is all the more important in a developing country like ours where levels of education and people's active participation in their own affairs seem to be very low and when they are not very articulate in matters of their own civic interest. It can not, therefore, be construed as unusual or even undesirable if town and country planners provide the public some guidelines on their own needs and expectations as expressed initially through goals and finally through development plans. Consistent with this, it is also not out of tune if elite interest groups of the society are involved at certain level in the planning process. In other words, formulation of goals should always remain at an inspiration level and realm of planners in India not out of fancy but out of necessity and at the same time not creating an atmosphere of neglect of those whose collective or individual opinion or participation in the planning process will always count in one way or other. If not for anything else, this is essential to safeguard plans from future adverse criticism.

As already stated, in any planning process broad goals are required to be identified first. And as soon as those broad goals are identified and understandably enunciated, the concept of a strategy for development steps in. This concept of a strategy for development is normally the outcome of a number of factors which are typical in relation to a particular areas. For example, in case of the Calcutta Metropolitan District, absence of a rational development policy in the State as a whole has caused extremely rapid and unplanned growth, often unpredictable in terms of time and place. Along with this growth is the difficulty in making projections of land requirements, industrial development and employment, specific markets, the need for

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facilities and services and the financial, legal and administrative abilities of the Government to provide them in an area with a complex social and economic history, where new kinds of economic development opportunities are being sought constantly, and where new private developments are by all means likely to be sporadic. Moreover, in this area, standards for public and private facilities of all types are likely to be very low at present but will be subject to constant pressure for change in an upward direction making it hazardous for projecting land and facilities needs. Assuming that in our present economic condition, public investment and initiative will be quite high in relation to private actions and also assuming that control of private investments through time-honoured methods of zoning and land use control could be used profitably, future land use dimensions will always remain as the best guesstimate for growth and development and having the same degree of flexibility and adaptability to changing needs and standards as to presently unforeseeable factors effecting growth and development. Therefore, out of the overall broad plan prepared keeping consistency with identified goals, an approach should be made to formulate a strategy of development involving a plan of action (*i.e.*, programme planning) designed to achieve certain predetermined lower level short-range objectives but having long-range perspectives. Included in such a strategy, of course, is the use of power, in this case, *inter alia*, the provision or withholding of public investments and land use controls, to achieve the desired ends and in relation to emerging developments and should shape and guide individual public action programmes ultimately into a complete picture in accordance with the overall accepted programme. And in this process planners should continually improve their long-range overall plans and goals and if necessary change their action-programmes prepared with comparatively short-range time span, always recognising and predicting consequences of such action programmes upon the long-range development plan. Under the present state of affairs in Town and Country Planning for Metropolitan areas, this approach alone seems to be acceptable with a view to achieving the ultimate objective of Urban Planning.

Development Plans and Their Implementation in Maharashtra State

This paper seeks in the first instance to identify the legal, financial and administrative problems of the development plan at its two stages: (i) preparation stage, and (ii) the implementation stage. After the identification of the problems and the lacunae, a case study of the development plan of the city of Kolhapur is discussed and it is hoped that this case study will make at least one area of deficiency in the implementation of plans quite clear, the will to implement.

INTRODUCTION

Since it is imperative that attempts towards town-improvements should not be on piecemeal basis and that they should spring from well conceived and comprehensive development plans, it is obviously necessary first to prepare a development plan for the town. These spatial-cum-economic development plans of medium towns and cities when properly implemented could offer to the prospective city board, the rural migrants a choice of alternative areas with adequate infrastructure and employment opportunities for settlement and employment. Thus the endless flow of migrants to the metropolitan areas may be checked by these counter settlement dams, which help to channellise and streamline the growing trend of urbanization and distribute the fruits of urbanization evenly. In this context the medium sized town and cities have obviously a significant role to play in the process of urbanization.

Although there had been conscious attempts in the erstwhile Bombay state to control the development in urban areas on planned basis by preparation of T.P. Schemes and Master Plans, the measures were inadequate as the T.P. Schemes could be prepared only for small areas of towns and cities, and the master plans had no legal footing. The B.T.P. Act, 1954 was therefore enacted and brought into force from 1st April, 1957 which made the preparation of development plans for entire area under their jurisdiction an obligatory task of the M.G.S. This provided the development plans the necessary legal and statutory footing and provided the planning authority with an effective tool with which to control and regulate development and improve the urban environment. In effect, however, few local authorities made good use of this tool.

As towns grew, the inter-dependence between them and the rural areas also increased. The problems of urban areas could no more be viewed in isolation and had to be necessarily related to the surrounding country side and the regional matrix. Many times the urban development spilled over beyond the defined city limits. It was thus realized that preparation of development plans for isolated pockets of municipal areas, was just not sufficient. If conditions in urban areas had to be improved the same had to be considered in the broader context of the region under the social and economic influence of the town. The realisation of this fact led the Government of Maharashtra to appoint the Gadgil Committee which recommended the enactment of a regional planning legislation. On consideration of this recommendation, the Government of Maharashtra enacted the Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act, 1966, which came into force from January 11, 1967. Thus the principles of Town and Country Planning were duly recognized by this enactment and the preparation of the development plan acquired not only a legal but also a rational footing from the planning point of view.

THE DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Preparation

The preparation of development plans for the municipal towns in Maharashtra was, for all practical purposes, started

after the enactment of the B.T.P. Act 1954, came into force from 1st April, 1957. The earlier master plans prepared and completed under P.W.R. Schemes were sanctioned by the Government of Maharashtra under the provisions of the B.T.P. Act, 1954 and further saved under the provisions of the Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act, 1966 which repealed and replaced the former. The work of preparation of development plans picked up very slowly in the late fifties, steadily increased in speed in the sixties and gathered considerable momentum in the early seventies. The brisk programme of preparation of development plans continues and today development plan's for as many as 116 towns and cities have been sanctioned as many as 48 await sanction, 31 have been prepared and published, and 7 are under preparation. Only 24 towns out of total of 227 municipal towns and cities, have remained to be covered by preparation of development plans and these would also soon be covered.

Problems—legal

The Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act, 1966 prescribes a sufficiently elaborate procedure for the preparation of a development plan, thus fulfilling almost all the legal requirements. The Municipal Council which is the planning authority declares its intention to prepare a development plan for the entire area under its jurisdiction notifies this declaration in the local news papers and the Government Gazette. The surveys of the area under the jurisdiction of the M.C. are carried out in respect of physical, social and economic aspects. A map of the existing land use is prepared. The survey data are analysed. Problems are identified, objectives and goals are defined and the proposals are framed. A draft development plan is thus prepared and discussed with the planning authority. It is then discussed with the Government departments at district level and also with the authorities in the T.P. Department of the Government of Maharashtra. Finally, the draft and its report containing the surveys, analysis and the proposals are published for the benefit of the public. The suggestions and objections from the public are called for on the published development plan. A planning committee is formed by the planning authority and this planning committee goes through the

objections and suggestions and gives hearing to those who have put in their objections and suggestions. The planning committee prepares its own report based on these suggestions and objections and recommends to the Planning Authority to modify the draft development plan according to its report. If the recommended modifications to the draft development plan are of substantial nature the draft development plan is republished and public suggestions and objections are again called for on those substantial changes. Again a planning committee is appointed and the procedure is repeated till there are no substantial changes. The draft development plan will then be submitted to the Government for sanction. Government may with or without modification, sanction the draft development plan which is then called the final development plan. The Government may even refuse to sanction the draft plan and return the same to the M.C. with suitable instructions. If Government makes substantial changes at its level while sanctioning, the draft development plan has to be published by the Government and the public suggestions and objections are called for. Finally the development plan is sanctioned by Government.

All these stages have got certain time limits statutorily prescribed. A development plan may be prepared, published and got sanctioned within a span 3 to 4 years. It may take a maximum duration of 5 years after its publication.

It is thus seen that the procedure for preparation of the development plan covers almost all the legal requirements as also the requirements of public participation. However, the experience is that most of the public suggestions and objections are in the nature of individual grievance or sometimes of vested interests. Even the members of the planning authority are seen to be neither paying necessary attention nor showing sufficient interest in the development plan of their town to the extent expected of them. Either they oppose the proposals of the development plan from the point of view of vested interests or keep passive. This does not create legal problem as such, provided the planners are able to convince them or change the proposals according to their wishes and whims; but it does deprive the development plan of an enlightened moral support at the planning authority's level.

Problems—Administrative

Under both the Acts, of 1954 and 1966, the duty of preparing development plan has been cast upon the planning authority, *i.e.*, M.C. However, in the absence of trained and qualified staff with the M.C. this work has to be carried out by the Town Planning and Valuation Department of the Government of Maharashtra except in the case of bigger municipal corporations like Bombay and Poona which have got their own planning staff. A member of development plans have so far been prepared (including the initial surveys) by the Town Planning and Valuation Department on behalf of the various Municipal Councils during the 2nd, 3rd and 4th five year plan periods. So far, the help and cooperation from the Municipal Councils to the personnel of this department in respect of the surveys and preparation of the draft development plan has been quite encouraging. In rare cases however the planning authority not only does not cooperate but refuses to do its duty as a planning authority. In such cases Government has to divest the Municipal Council of its planning powers and vest them temporarily in the office of the Town Planning Department or other suitable officers. These administrative problems during the plan preparation stage are however minor.

Problems—Financial

As the entire work of preparation of development plans is carried out by the Town Planning and Valuation Department on behalf of the Municipal Council, the Municipal Councils were charged the wage bill of actual manhours spent for the work. But now-a-days Government of Maharashtra have fixed an *ad hoc* amount based on the population of the town, as the charges towards the preparation of the development plans. The Municipal Councils have not voiced any objection to the recovery of those charges. Except that there is certain amount of delay in recovering these charges, there is no financial problem experienced in the preparation of the plan.

It is thus seen that there are no problems worth mentioning either legal, administrative or financial as far as the preparation of a development plan is concerned.

Enforcement/Implementation

Right through the three plan periods of 2nd, 3rd and 4th

Five Year Plans, the attention appears to have been concentrated only on the preparation of development plans and not so much on their implementation. Perhaps, it may be due to an anxiety to cover all the urban areas first with development plans. It may also be due to a naive belief that once the urban area is saddled with a sanctioned development plan, the development would mostly follow in its context and implementation will be effortless if not automatic.

In reality, however, implementation of development plans is far too slow than what it ought to have been and even enforcement through police powers leaves much to be desired. Except for a few proposals here and there, the implementation of the development plan is only marginal and it must be accepted that the planning activity has not been matched by appreciable extent of implementation. It is, therefore, high time that we look back and see how far the implementation is lagging behind. The development plans bear no meaning if they are not implemented. Preparation of the plan is only a part of the job. Implementation makes it complete and meaningful.

Problems

Implementation is beset with problems, big and small which are of varied nature. The development plan is handed over to the planning authority for implementation. Just as the preparation, the implementation also is the complete responsibility of the planning authority; but in the case of the former the lack of trained and qualified personnel with the Municipal Council becomes a blessing in disguise and the plan was got prepared by the trained personnel of the Town Planning and Valuation Department. No such remedy is found in respect of the implementation which is left to the good sense of the planning authority who in most of the cases have not taken interest in the preparation stage and so coolly avoid taking interest in implementation. Sometimes the body of Councillors will be different from the one which okayed the plan during the preparation. This is also the reason why they are averse to the development plan proposals. Such passive attitude towards the implementation is taken cover under the problems which can be overcome if active interest is taken in implementation. Let us go through the problems that face implementation. The

assessment of the problems is not by experience but by observation, as the implementation is not a function of the Town Planning Department. The problems can be classified under three heads (i) Legal, (ii) Administrative and (iii) Financial, for convenience of analysis and discussion.

Problems—Legal

Implementation of development plan interferes with the private property rights and development rights. It, therefore, invites many legal problems and complications, if these issues are not treated properly and according to procedures prescribed in the statute. Many times, the implementation activity is challenged in a court of law and stay orders and injunctions, etc., are sought from the courts.

Implementation falls into two categories: (i) Indirect, viz., control and regulation of development, and (ii) Direct or positive, viz., execution of the development plan proposals like road widening, acquisition of land for and development of a garden, a school site, a community centre, etc.

D.C. Rules have been prescribed in the development plans, based on the provisions made in the Acts and their rules and administrative orders from Government from time to time. There should, therefore, be no difficulty in enforcing these D.C. Rules and thus implement the development plan by controlling and regulating the development plan. It requires only a will to enforce these Rules and no questions of finance on the part of the M.C. is involved in it. In many instances it is observed that the M.Cs. deliberately or otherwise accord development permission to private developers violating the D.C. Rules. Attempts are being made to check this practice. The Government of Maharashtra have issued strict orders in this regard. We have yet to watch and see the results. It is in any case necessary, however, that very strict vigilance be kept and stern action taken by Government and its department in cases where wilful violation of development rules is noticed. Even then if the results are disappointing, the power of development permission should be taken over from the Municipal Council and vested in the Government or its representative, though this is against the tenets of democracy.

As regards the direct positive aspect of implementation, it is

possible to initiate Town Planning Scheme for parts of the town and implement the development plan proposals as provided in the Act. It is also possible to acquire the lands required for road widening or other public amenity sites as per the provisions made in the M.R. & T.P. Act, 1966 and also the L.A. Act, 1894 as applied to the State of Maharashtra. In both these cases the procedure to be adopted is cumbersome and time consuming. The compensation to be awarded is the market value of the property prevailing as on the material date, with all other damages admissible. Both these characteristic features, viz., (i) cumbersome and time consuming procedures, and (ii) giving market value for the property acquired, make the method unpopular and thus the implementation though undertaken drags on for years and thus fails in creating an impact. The method of initiating T.P. Schemes has provided for betterment contribution from the owners of such area. But the cumbersome and time consuming procedures are more severe in this method. Attempts therefore should be made to make these procedures similar. 'Compensation' may be replaced by 'amount' in view of the 25th amendment to the Constitution. In other words, all urban and urbanizable land may have to be socialised or nationalised. Private negotiations are always welcome as a quick and simple solution to acquire development sites. The development of the sites involve or legal problems when once the sites are acquired. It is only a question of finance.

Simple

Problems—Administrative

The implementation of the development plan calls for a suitable set-up of trained or qualified personnel. Due to weak financial position, the Municipal Councils are unable to get sufficient and trained personnel to take care of all the Municipal functions, especially those pertaining to the implementation of development plan proposals. It is observed that in many of the Municipal Councils in Marathwada (Maharashtra State) there is not even a qualified overseer to assist in taking basic steps and executing D.C. Rules in the process of enforcement of the development plans. The other staff with the local authorities is not qualified even to visualise the aims and objectives of the development plan. In such cases, State Government may appoint its own qualified officers to look after these measures

or the job should be entrusted with the Town Planning and Valuation Department. It is proposed in this connection that a cadre of Urban Area Administrators may be created and such administrators attached to the Municipal Councils of important towns and cities even when there is a skeleton technical staff. Smaller Municipal Councils cannot maintain these personnel.

Problems—Financial

Financial problems are the main hurdles in the way of implementation of development plan proposals. These are severe and yield to short cut solutions.

The factors contributing to these problems are as below:

(a) High land values.

With the advent of urbanization and growth of commercial and industrial activities in towns and cities, land as a commodity is becoming more and more precious day by day. High land values deteriorate the standards of amenities in the town. Due to such soaring land values the Municipal Councils find it very difficult to achieve desired goal of implementation. Perhaps the only solution to this state of affairs is the socialization or nationalization of all urban lands as indicated earlier.

(b) Unsound financial position of the local bodies.

Many of the Municipal councils belonging to 'B' and 'C' Class of Municipal Councils have got an in-built unsound financial position. These municipal councils will have to be helped by the State in matters of development plans implementation. Sometimes this unsound financial position may be due to the low level of taxation in small and medium size towns.

There will be pressures on the local bodies to maintain this low level of taxation. Taxation in such cases may have to be brought to the common level prevailing and admissible in similar Municipal Councils.

Government of Maharashtra is granting the Municipal Councils with financial assistance in the form of loan and grant-in-aid. But the amounts provided every year for this purpose is too meagre to mention. Only a few municipal councils will be able to obtain this meagre aid. This is so nominal assistance that it is not able to help the implementation of the Development Plan make any headway.

CASE STUDY OF PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE D.P. OF KOLHAPUR

Location and Brief Description of the Study Area

Kolhapur, the capital of the ex-princely state of Kolhapur is situated on the southern bank of the Pancyaganga river a tributary of the Krishna River. It is also situated on Bombay-Poona-Bangalore National Highway No. 4 at a distance of about 240 k.m. to the south of Poona. It is the district headquarters of the District of Kolhapur and the seat of Shivaji University. The city is surrounded by rich agricultural lands.

- (i) Municipal area 63.538 Sq. Km.
- (ii) 1971 population 2.59 lakh
- (iii) 1991 estimated population 4.80 lakh
- (iv) Existing development with reference to available infrastructure facilities.

The city of Kolhapur is well-connected with different parts of the State of Maharashtra and other states by railway and roads. It is the terminus of the Poona-Miraj-Kolhapur Broad Gauge Railway line. There is a well-developed cooperative sector covering many spheres of developmental activities including a cooperative industrial estate. It has a sugar mill in the private sector and textile mill in the public sector. The city is famous for its A.P.M. Yard and market. M.I.D.C. has started development of industrial area along Kolhapur-Poona National Highway No. 4 outside the Municipal limits. Water supply is adequate. Underground drainage scheme has been recently completed in some parts of the city and is in progress in other parts. Power is available in plenty.

(v) The Municipal Council has been converted into a Municipal Corporation on December 15, 1972 and an administrator has been placed in charge of the Corporation with all the powers of the Corporate body.

Previous City-Planning Efforts

During the ex-state regime, the Kolhapur State had its own 'City Development Ministry'. During the decade 1921-31, two residential developments of Shahupuri and Rajarampuri were completed in the rectangular grid-iron-pattern. Laxmipuri, a residential-cum-commercial development was also completed

during the same period, also in the same grid-iron-fashion.

A Development Scheme of Kolhapur for 1944-54 was prepared by Shri J.P. Naik the then Secretary to the City Development Ministry. The scheme contained a number of development proposals for the city of Kolhapur. The significant part of the scheme was that Shri J.P. Naik implemented and executed almost all of these proposals and he is, therefore, still remembered as the most successful city planner from the implementation point of view. He completed the widening of Tarabai Road, widening of Mahadwar Road, roads around Bhavanji Mandap, widening of Sathmari Road, filling up of various lakes, viz., Varuntirth, Kapil tirth, etc., scattered here and there in the city. Udyamnagar (an industrial area), and Sagarmal (a residential area) were also completed by the ex-state regime.

It is said, the State regime did not experience much difficulty in executing the development proposals and the citizens were extending the necessary cooperation and surrendering their properties for a road widening and other schemes. It may be due to the fact that it was a benevolent monarchical system and the people valued the orders of the Maharaja more than their properties. The orders of the State were held in high esteem. It required only a far-sighted planner and determined administrator to bring about needed improvement and fortunately Shri Naik filled the gap quite ably.

The Kolhapur State was thereafter merged in the Indian Union in 1949 and the unfinished works of the 1944-54 scheme, were carried out by the then Municipal Council till late in the fifties.

The Master Plan

The Master Plan of Kohlapur prepared under the PWR Scheme 137, was sanctioned by the State Government in November 1959 under the provisions of the BTP Act 1955 to come into force from January 1, 1960 and this became the first D.P. of Kohlapur. This D.P. is still in force.

The D.P. Kolhapur

The sanctioned D.P. of Kolhapur has got some 208 sites for various public purposes like open spaces, playgrounds, schools, hospitals, etc. It has road-widening proposals of some

important roads. It also has broad zoning proposals.

The Municipal Council of Kolhapur

There was a Council of 54 members headed by a President. The Municipal Council had a technical staff of one ex-Engineer, one Dy. Engineer and 4 overseers to control the development and to implement development plan proposals. The financial position of the municipal council was fairly well, the total yearly income amounting to more than a crore of rupees in the early sixties and nearly two crores in the late sixties.

Implementation of the D.P. by the M.C. from 1960 to 1972

With all the favourable position as above, the record of implementation of the development plan proposals by the Municipal Council Kolhapur shows a very sad picture. It could develop only one site and open space in front of S.T. Stand and one garden site in Doward. The Municipal Council could acquire the site for brick kilns near market yard and another for housing kumbhars. Even the sites where the land was owned either by the Municipal Council itself or the Government could not be developed in fulfilment of the Master Plan objectives.

At the instance of the T.P. and V. Department the municipal council appointed a full time SLAO in 1967 to acquire sites needed for implementing the D.P. proposals. Even here acquisitions for haphazard and incomplete works were the orders of the day. Some properties were acquired but the road proposals pertaining to those acquisitions was not completed. Many other road widening schemes were left half done like this. Certain non-D.P. proposals were also executed by acquisition. Some sites were partly acquired.

Three T.P. Schemes were prepared by the Municipal Council to implement the D.P. proposals. The implementation in case of T.P. Scheme Kolhapur No. 1 is 75 per cent. In case of the other two T.P. Schemes the implementation is only 10 per cent.

The budget provisions and actual expenditure by the municipal council for the implementation of D.P. proposals was as

below :

Year	Total Income	Budget provision	Percentage
		Actual Expenditure	
1970-71	2,12,10,682	2,00,000	0.94
		2,49,842	1.17
1971-72	2,09,68,659	1,10,000	0.52
		1,09,968	0.52
1972-73	2,32,97,429	1,00,000	0.43
		83,629	0.36

The above figures speak for themselves

Probable Reasons for the Utter Failure of the M.C. to Implement the D.P.

The M C. being in a fairly better position from all aspects, none of the usual problems, e.g., legal, administrative nor financial appear to be responsible for this utter failure. It is the sluggish attitude of the Municipal Council which is responsible for this failure. No city father perhaps took any real and lasting interest in the D.P. not even the President who used to be in the chair for only one year. No big project used to be taken by chair with a fear that it would remain incomplete and the credit of completion would go to the next president.

Implementation of D.P. requires coordinated and sustained efforts by the municipal council in cooperation with other Government and Semi-Government Department. But the Municipal Council did not attempt to make such efforts.

The Corporation and the Administrator

The Municipal Council of Kolhapur was converted into a Municipal Corporation on December 15, 1972. The Government of Maharashtra appointed an administrator for the corporation with full powers of the corporate body.

In the meanwhile, the revision of the D.P. was taken up by

the then council at the instance of TP and VD. The council published the draft (revised) D.P. in 1972., i.e., just before the Council was converted into Corporation.

The Administrator first set the financial matters right and improved the recovery system of the corporation and effected savings to the corporation in all possible manners. He studied the D.P. both the sanctioned one and the revised and published one. He assessed the quantum of work to be done. He started completing the unfinished work initiated by the then Council. He got himself assured with a unit of planners—headed by city planning development engineer. He annexed another post of Special Land Acquisition Officer. He increased the strength of the previous municipal personnel. He chalked out a programme of projects of acquisition and development. Seeing the legal acquisition procedure time consuming he preferred to have private negotiations with the owners of properties so as to have early possession of the properties which would help in the early implementation of the proposals. He got an Advisory Committee appointed by Government to advise him in matters of valuation of properties and other problems of implementation.

He made substantial budget provisions for implementation of D.P.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total income</i>	<i>Budget profit</i> <i>actual expenditure</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1973-74	2,97,95,191	5,33,000	1.79
		5,02,547	1.68
1974-75	3,27,45,439	5,82,500 (estimated)	1.77

Implementation of D.P. by the Administrator

Thus, within a span of a little more than two years, the following extent of implementation could be achieved by the administrator.

1. Completed all the incomplete works started by the then Council.
2. Improved four major road-junctions.

3. Implemented three road proposals by acquiring the properties. Four proposals are nearing completion.
4. Initiated six market site proposals.
5. Initiated two picnic centre proposals.
6. Initiated and completed water front improvement of Rankala tank (at a cost of Rs. 4,06, 667)
7. Completed the development of one garden site and two others are nearing completion.
8. Varum Tirth Stadium completed.
9. Site reserved for slum-dwellers has been acquired and slum-dwellers from 9 slums will be shifted to this site.
10. Eighteen sites for various public purposes have been taken possession from Government as these lands were owned by Government.
11. Other proposed works are :
 - (i) Nineteen road-schemes out of which 5 have been implemented.
 - (ii) Fifteen approach roads
 - (iii) Nine school sites
 - (iv) Eighteen playground sites
 - (v) Twenty-one marked sites
 - (vi) Construction of a drama theatre and market.

Problems Faced by the Administrator

The Administrator faced only the legal problems described earlier. As he was having wide powers, he used to take decisions and implement them. There was, therefore, no appreciable administrative problems:

During the last thirty years the city of Kohlapur has experienced three different phases of developmental activity. The first and the third though due to one man, had the benevolent effect on the city. The middle one though done by the representative of the people, developmental activity suffered to a large extent. The city of Kolhapur for its developments does not therefore suffer from the usual problems legal, administrative and financial, but from a well-informed and dynamic leadership dedicated to the city's cause.

CONCLUSION

The remedies as regards the legal, administrative and

financial problems in the implementation of the D.P. have been suggested in their respective context in the foregoing articles. In addition to these remedies, an enlightened and dedicated local authority is a "must" for the implementation of the D.P.s which would take care of the above problems.

17 Master Plans and Their Implementation in Uttar Pradesh

INTRODUCTION

Urbanisation has now been recognised as an inevitable phenomenon intimately bound up with the whole economic and social order. It is, therefore, imperative that a positive approach to urbanisation should be adopted and it should be utilised as a tool of economic development and social progress. The process of urbanisation is so massive and rapid that it brings in its wake so many evil consequences of chaotic urban growth, slums, blight, overcrowding, congestion, insanitation, traffic problems, scarcity of basic necessity and amenities like water supply, schools and hospitals, etc. These imply immense social and economic costs though not easily assessable but are not difficult to visualise. The corresponding infrastructure for economic progress is not available and thus the urban centres grow without a diversified and balanced economic base resulting in unemployment and under employment. These problems point out to much deeper malady, that is lack of planning and direction in urban development.

NEED FOR A PRECONCEIVED DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Preparation of master plans for cities is now a developed and well known concept. Master plan is a comprehensive plan prepared on long-term perspective for guiding and directing the present and prospective development of the city after taking into consideration the specific problems and needs of development

of the city concerned.

A master plan in fact is not a single plan but it is an integral part of a city conceives a hierarchy of plans of different order or precedence. There is the master plan and there are subordinate plans like zonal development plans, utility and services plans and the like. The master plan is the master, it is broadest, longest and highest of hierarchy of plans. Broadest in the sense that its scope over development factors is greatest, it is the longest in the time period and highest in that it controls and binds all other plans pertaining to the same factors.

In Uttar Pradesh, during third Five Year Plan period, master plans for big cities like Kanpur, Lucknow, Allahabad, and Varanasi were prepared under the cent per cent financial assistance scheme of the Government of India. This scheme of preparation of master plans for the growing urban centres was transferred to the State sector with effect from April 1969. The centrally sponsored scheme during the third five year plan stipulated two conditions for providing assistance under the scheme, viz:

- (i) The State government should enact a comprehensive legislation so as to make the master plans legally enforceable and implementable.
- (ii) A permanent town planning agency to be set-up in towns and cities where the master plans have been prepared.

The two conditions, mentioned above, however, could not be implemented. The offices for the preparation of master plans were wound up and shifted to other towns. The question of enactment of Town Planning legislation is still under the consideration of the State Government.

During the Fourth Five Year Plan, master plans for Agra, Bareilly, Moradabad, Mathura, Gorakhpur, Jaunpur, Rae Bareilly and Modinagar were completed by the Town and Country Planning Department.

During the Fifth Five Year Plan, the State Government have sanctioned creation of Regional Planning Divisions at the headquarters of 8 Commissioneries for the preparation of regional plans of the areas under the jurisdiction of each commissioner. These divisions will also prepare master plans for the fast growing urban centres and also other growth centres in the

region.

In the absence of comprehensive Town and Country Planning legislation, the master plans were prepared by the Town and Country Planning Department on behalf of the Municipal Corporations and also the Controlling Authorities constituted under the U.P. R.B.O. Act 1958. It may not be out of place to mention here that the machinery for the preparation of master plans is now well organised and established while the machinery for enforcement and implementation of the master plans in a coordinated fashion is altogether lacking. In order to overcome this difficulty the Government has recently created Urban Planning and Development Authorities in KAVAL cities of Uttar Pradesh on the pattern of DDA. This Act contains provision for preparation of Master Plans and Zonal Development Plans as well as its implementation. It is too early to comment on the performance of these authorities.

The implementation and enforcement of plan for the remaining other 17 class I cities continue under various existing statutory process, requiring the following functions :

1. Regulation and control of future development.
2. Coordination of various agencies engaged in urban development.
3. Positive development within the framework of master plan.

In the present set-up, the regulation and control aspect of future development is not being effectively implemented. There are different legislations for different areas in the same city which control the development. In regulated areas where U.P. R.B.O. Act 1958 is enforced, the Prescribed Authority is assisted by small staff. Neither the Prescribed Authority nor his staff are technically qualified to interpret the provisions of master plan in proper perspective. In many cases Prescribed Authorities are required to take assistance from the staff of local bodies. Since the local bodies staff have to perform various other functions, they are not able to pay attention in areas beyond the municipal limits even though the regulated areas limit encompasses much larger areas than the municipal limits. Likewise in towns where the master plans have been prepared under the municipal Acts, the regulation and control have not been rigorous. These two situations are responsible for ribbon and

haphazard substandard development on the peripheries of the town. It will thus be seen that the regulation and control of urban development in the city is neither on uniform pattern nor the provisions contained in the various Acts are up-to-date to take into account the latest technique in the science of town planning. These Acts are not comprehensive for the purpose of implementation of master plans and there is an urgent need to enact a comprehensive town and country planning legislation, so as to make master plans legally enforceable and implementable.

There is a multiplicity of agencies at local level which deal with different aspects of urban development in a city. At present there is non-coordination between these agencies and they appear to work in a sort of water-tight compartments. It is, therefore, necessary that there should be one unified agency for implementation which should be capable of coordinating the different agencies.

Another fact for execution of any urban development scheme is the preparation of detailed schemes for the same. Actually the master plan is a broad term plan which defines broad policies and programmes for the development of the city. But on practical plane, we require a phased and detailed plan which could translate the proposals of the master plan into concrete terms. This plan may be called a city development plan for our purpose. No city development plan has been prepared so far. In fact the city development plans should contain definite proposals for execution and indicating suitable priorities in respect of different sectors of urban development, for example, the land acquisition, road development and provision of utilities and services dovetailed into a well coordinated programme of action. Thus the city development plan would not be merely a physical development plan but also a fiscal plan clearly indicating the resources for the execution of above action programmes proposed to be taken by a developmental action agency within the framework of the master plan.

Therefore the preparation of a city development plan is indispensable for implementation and effectuation of a master plan, to utilise public fund judiciously and to maximise the benefits from the schemes.

It is only after the preparation of a city development plan, a clear insight is available into the selection of a particular scheme of urban development.

The preparation of a city development plan after completion of a master plan is the concern of the Government although it may be argued that it should be the responsibility of a local body. As the preparation of the city development plan is necessary for the implementation and effectuation of provisions of master plan, in the absence of which the whole money spent on the plan preparation becomes waste, can never be initiated by the local body firstly because of non-availability of expertise for the same and secondly because of scarcity of funds at the disposal of local bodies and lastly because this factor has not been included within the framework of the five year plans.

ROLE OF TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING DEPARTMENT IN EXECUTION OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT SCHEME

There are many sectors of urban development which are concerned with various governmental and semi-governmental agencies. There are always chances of duplication and overlapping which ultimately result in wastage of resources. Therefore, proper coordination of these agencies is necessary in all the stages of execution of urban development, namely, plan preparation, plan sanctioning and plan implementation.

The role of Town and Country Planning Department is basically significant in all these stages. The Town and Country Planning Department should provide the essential background for execution of urban development projects by way of preparing the master plans and city development plans.

At the stage of implementation again the Town and Country Planning Department has to play equally important role. Actually the role of Town and Country Planning Department assumes much more importance in implementation where relationship between multiple developmental agencies have to be so organised as to ensure maximum utilisation of resources. Besides this, the implementation requires the best coordination among these agencies, anticipation of problems, adaptation to changing circumstances and preparation of concrete schemes so

as to translate the development proposals into action.

Since the execution of development projects involves the participation of so many agencies, functioning with different perspectives on different governmental levels, and overall agency to oversee this entire process is indispensable.

The Town and Country Planning Department should, therefore, act as a coordinating agency to provide necessary programmes to each developmental sector.

PROBLEMS IN PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION OPERATIONS

From the discussion above, it is clear that while there are statutory instruments like Municipalities, Municipal Corporations, Housing Boards, Improvement Trusts, Planning and Development Authorities for the purposes of preparation of master plans and their implementation, there are practical problems confronting the authorities concerned in the exercise of the powers vested in them. They may be classified into :

1. Administrative and Organisational
2. Financial
3. Legal

Administrative and Organisational

It has been experienced that the legal provisions of the various Acts are inadequate for implementation of the master plans which necessitate in the framing of fresh rules and regulations which take considerable time to become operative. The process of framing rules and regulations do not get necessary attention as there are always more pressing legal problems at the government level.

The successful implementation of master plan requires coordination at all levels. At times this coordination is lacking. Due vigilance and timely action are lacking on the part of local authorities to check unauthorised constructions.

Many instances have come to the notice where the land use proposals of master plans have not been strictly followed. Even though the process of preparation of master plans have legal

backing, the land use provisions have been ignored during the implementation stage. Many industrial undertakings have been set up in areas which were earmarked for residential and other uses in the master plans.

Such building operations carried out in non-conformity with the land use proposals or in conflict with the requirements of the zoning regulations, totally vitiate the entire land use proposals of the master plan.

The local authorities are seriously handicapped with the non-availability of qualified personnel. It has to be recognised that planning is a new social invention and therefore these personnel require varying degree of competence at various levels if the master plan is to be effectively implemented.

Good leadership and public participation are indispensable for not only successful plan preparation but also plan implementation. The lack of public participation in the plan-making process have been responsible for circumventing the law of the land in favour of private individuals to meet their personal ends.

Financial Problems

A considerable amount of money is required for the implementation of the master plans. Since the housing and urban development sector in the five year plans has not been given high priority, the implementation of planning schemes have not been effective. Because of lack of funds local bodies are often required to change their priorities.

Legal Problems

It is a common experience that any development project or scheme is often offset by injunctions to court seeking interventions in acquisition of land by the State Government or local authorities. Acquisition procedure is time consuming and tedious. Several years pass before any land can be put to an effective use in accordance with the master plans. Sometimes the decisions of the court have also proved unfavourable to the local authorities. The rules and regulations are often required to be amended consequent to the rulings of the courts which again take considerable time.

A plan can, therefore, be effective only if it is practical in

its implementation. To be effective, the plan must be prepared on the footing of economic, social and technological capability and having due regard to their inter-relationships.

Regional Basis for Development Planning —Assam Experience

INTRODUCTION

Keeping in view the broad priorities and guidelines as given out in the draft outline of the Fifth Five Year Plan, the sub-divisional plans of each subdivision of the State of Assam are prepared by the Subdivisional Planning Cells under the guidance of the Planning and Development Department, Government of Assam. The *ad hoc* Subdivisional Planning Cells have been set up pending constitution of the Subdivisional Planning and Review Boards after elections are held for Mahkuma Parishad under the New Panchayat Act. But this time the Mahkuma Parishads are formed and Subdivisional Planning and Review Boards constituted.

It is a common thinking that the conventional City or Town Planning is inadequate, unless it takes into accounts its immediate rural hinterland. On the other hand, rural planning very often is reduced to an unrealistic exercise of community needs of various sorts. With this in view, Urban Development Plans are now being undertaken as part of an overall regional plan or in other way the physical planning exercise adopts the concept of inter-dependence of the rural and urban areas in the broader region.

THE PAST EXPERIENCE

In our country we have had series of National Plans, which

have not been, however, fully successful, in some respect. After making a thorough analysis and critically examining the success or failure of various sectors and aspects of the National Economic Plans of several developing countries many notable international economists—Albert Waterston, Louis J. Walinsky, John P. Lewis, Evert E. Hager, Walter Isard and Thomas Reiner, identified the deficiencies in the preparation and effectuation of such plans. A few of the deficiencies as pointed out by them are as follows:

- (a) Lack of spatial outlook in economic planning;
- (b) Inadequate inter-sectoral coordination;
- (c) Failure to establish a relationship between National, Regional and Local Area Planning, through a hierarchy of plans, plan-projects and sector programmes; and
- (d) Inexperienced administrative machinery to translate plans into well conceived and realisable Development Projects.

In this paper an effort is made to find out whether we can take advantage of such costly past experiences in making successful the subdivisional plans recently prepared.

MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE SUBDIVISIONAL PLANS

As per guidelines prepared by the State's Planning and Development Department, the Subdivisional Plans comprise of two main elements:

- (a) The minimum needs programme; and
- (b) a programme of generating massive employment in addition to pursuing the programmes for normal development.

The minimum needs programme includes elementary education, minimum public health facilities integrated with family planning and nutrition for children, rural water supply, homesites for landless labour, rural roads, rural electrification and slum improvement in the larger towns.

Employment intensive heads of development programme includes mainly sectors like minor, medium and major irrigation,

soil conservation, agriculture, land reform, animal husbandry, dairying, forests, fisheries, cooperation, agricultural marketing, processing and credit, cottage and subsidiary industries, sericulture, handloom, etc.

The normal developmental programme includes economic infrastructure—transport and communications, distribution of electric energy, etc. An integrated view should be taken of the development envisaged in respect of various economic activities to avoid duplication of facilities for one particular economic function. The social infrastructure includes education, health, labour welfare, veterinary facilities, social welfare, housing, urban development, sanitation, etc. The plan for the social services should be integrated with the minimum needs programmes.

As for the sectors like large and medium industries, power generations, flood control and large irrigation, etc., schemes/programmes will generally be drawn up at the State level and formation of such programmes involve a considerable amount of technical sophistication. Nevertheless, the subdivisional planning bodies should study the problems, prospects and possibilities in these fields and give their views which would certainly be taken into account at the top level.

The subdivisional plans also include supplemental schemes/programmes for accelerated development of the people belonging to backward classes/areas.

Resource mobilisation programme is included in the plan.

RESPONSIBILITY OF PLAN FORMULATION

“With the devolution of authority at the local level, namely, the Mahkuma Parishad, as per new Panchayat Act, the responsibility of the plan formulation will lie with the Mahkuma Parishad which is an integral part at the State machinery and in whom all necessary powers and functions are being vested. The Mahkuma Parishads will have full authority over the subjects/schemes transferred to them and will have control over officers connected with implementation of developmental schemes/programmes within their jurisdiction.”*

*Papers on subdivisional plans, Government of Assam, Planning and Development Department, May, 1974.

The Subdivisional Planning Council

"The Mahkuma Parishads will act as the Subdivisional Planning Councils and prepare plans and programme, according to the felt needs and aspiration of the people in a manner so as to take the maximum possible advantage of local initiative and potential keeping in view the overall objectives, perspectives, strategies and priorities of the National as well as State plans. It will be the responsibility of the Mahkuma Parishads to locate poverty, to identify backwardness and to prepare schemes and programmes for progressive removal of poverty and backwardness. In order to bring about harmonisation between the basic objectives of planned development, there will be a Planning and Review Board which will include Members of Parliament, Members of Legislative Assembly and Chairman and Chief Executive Councillor of the respective Mahkuma Parishad".*

The Subdivisional Planning Board

"The Planning and Review Boards will function as the Subdivisional Planning Boards and will integrate the plans of the Mahkuma Parishads with the State plan and will continually review the progress of subdivision level schemes implemented by the Mahkuma Parishad as well as those implemented by the respective Government departments. Broadly speaking the schemes/projects/programmes which in spite of their location in a particular Subdivision or the State as a whole have been taken as a State level Scheme. On the other hand, the schemes which are local in nature and will benefit only the Subdivision in which they are located have been taken as Subdivision level schemes".*

The good point of these plans is, they have the same plan period as the National plan for effective synchronisation of the execution of all plans.

CRITICAL EVALUATION OF PROGRAMMES OF THE SUBDIVISIONAL PLANS

Lack of Spatial Focus

From the above mentioned programmes of the subdivisional

*Papers on subdivisional plans, Government of Assam, Planning and Development Department, May, 1974.

plans, it can be easily assessed that though the planning has been regarded as a vital instrument to accelerated economic growth and social progress, sufficient emphasis has not been given on integrated socio-economic and spatial planning. Inter sectoral coordinations are also lacking.

They have given very little consideration to the location and distribution of economic activities and their impact on urban and regional growth. The development effort has not brought into a correct *Spatial Focus*.

Lack of Regional Thinking

From programmes of the subdivisional plans, though there is enough ground to find the *Regional Bias* in their formulation, but in true sense they have not been conceived in the *Regional Framework*. There is very little attempt to coordinate the planning efforts of rural and urban areas. They have not included in *Landuse Plan* and little attention has been given as to what scale the development would best promote economic growth, social progress and ecological balance. There seems to be too much emphasis on the allocation of financial resources to the various developmental programmes of the different sectors and on quantification of production targets to be achieved without visualising the quality of physical and social environment that is likely to result from change, growth and planning. In all plans 60 to 70 per cent of the total capital outlay is for agriculture, power, roads, health, schools, housing, water supply etc. How best these investible resource could be steered in *Space* and *Time* into impulse sectors and selected growth points to obtain a desired pattern of planned environment is a vital question to be resolved.

Absence of Planning Expertise

The Second Five Year Plan assigned an important role to the district in the planning process. One of the courses of failure of this important attempt, as pointed out in the Report on the Machinery for Planning, Administrative Reforms Commission, Government of India is a lack of proper co-ordination among the different implementing agencies in the district and an absence of *Planning Expertise*.

THE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

It is not worthwhile to take maximum advantage of past experiences to make the subdivisional plans more successful in their preparation and effectuation. Furthermore, in the economic stringency that is now facing the country, it is all the more important to maximise the returns by investment in proper manner.

To make the plans more rational, they have to recognise the spatial dimensions and the environment aspects of economic growth and change. An attempt should have to be made to co-ordinate planning efforts of urban and rural areas in order to have integrated development. The socio-economic policies and programmes should be properly fitted within the regional framework and visualised the three dimensional picture that will emerge from such policies and programmes.

REFERENCE

Handbook of Guidelines on Subdivisional Planning, Government of Assam, Planning and Development Department.

All the State Governments were requested to indicate the progress of preparation of plans, agencies for planning and implementation as well as the present position about the progress made in giving effect to the plans. Statements were received in the later period of 1974 from 10 States and these statements are enclosed with certain editing. The position in the different States is briefly indicated below:

ANDHRA PRADESH

Fourteen plans have been completed and 11 were in various stages of preparation. The plans are prepared on behalf of the local authorities by the Directorate of Town Planning except Vishakhapatnam where the Town Planning Trust is reported to have prepared its own plan. The period for plan preparation varied from 2 to 7 years. The implementation of plans is the responsibility of the Municipal Councils or the Town Planning Trusts. However, the Andhra Pradesh Urban Areas Development Act 1974 provides for constitution of urban development authorities for implementation of development plans.

ASSAM

The total number of plans prepared is reported to be 8 for all the major towns of the state. The State Town and Country Planning Organization is responsible for the preparation of plans and their submission to the Government for approval. The average time taken to complete a plan is about 5 to 7.

*Compiled by Prof. Deva Raj, (CUS), IIPA.

years. Three Master Plans were submitted to the State Government for adoption in 1971, one in 1972 and two in 1974. Only the plans for Gauhati and Tinsukia appear to have been approved and being implemented by the respective development authorities.

BIHAR

Nineteen plans are reported to have been prepared since 1962-63. All plans are prepared by the State Town and Country Planning Organization except in the case of Patna where the Master Plan was prepared by the Patna Improvement Trust between 1955-61. Ranchi, Gaya and Muzaffarpur also have Improvement Trusts who along with a number of agencies are responsible for implementation of plans. It is, however, stated that there is no way to assess the progress as the work carried out by the Improvement Trusts and other authorities is marginal and there is no adequate machinery to record the development projects undertaken by other public agencies.

GUJARAT

Fiftysix plans for various local authorities are reported to have been prepared by the Town Planning and Valuation Department of the State Government since 1957. The time taken to complete the plan varies from 3 to 10 years. Local authorities are implementing agencies under the town planning Act but no information is available about the progress of implementation.

HIMACHAL PRADESH

Nine plans are reported to have been prepared while work is in progress for 6 others. Most of the plans have been prepared with the help of Town and Country Planning Organization of the Government of India and the P.W.D. in H.P. is the implementing agency. Two of the plans for Solan and Poanta Sahib are reported to be undertaken for preparation by private consultant since 1972 and 1973 respectively. Most of the plans prepared by the TCPO were finalised within a year or so and the plan for Bilaspur completed in 1960 is reported to have been

implemented. As regards other plans it is stated that plans could not be implemented for want of comprehensive legislation.

KARNATAKA

Of the 21 plans 9 were prepared by the Planning Authorities of different towns and 12 by the Department of Town and Country Planning between years 1965-1972. Eleven planning authorities have been constituted under the Karnataka Town and Country Planning Act of 1961. Four Plans have been finally approved while three have been provisionally approved. Some of the plans are still under preparation. The various development plans are implemented by the Improvement Trust Boards, Local Authorities and other State Government Departments and they are reported at different stages of implementation.

KERALA

Twelve plans were prepared by the State Town Planning Department between 1963-72 and 4 are under preparation. For implementation, there are Town Planning Trusts in Trivandrum, Cochin and Calicut while in other cases it is the responsibility of the Municipalities. Only 3 plans are reported to have been statutorily sanctioned.

MAHARASHTRA

Maharashtra has the distinction of having prepared plans for as many as 225 towns in addition to 7 regional plans. The town plans have been prepared by the various local authorities with the help of Town Planning and Valuation Department of the Maharashtra State and the local authorities are themselves responsible for implementation. Except for a few proposals, implementation of development plans is, however, reported, by and large, to be marginal.

As regards regional plans, 2 are under preparation and 4 are awaiting Government approval. The Bombay Metropolitan Regional Plan was sanctioned by the Government in 1973 and

a special agency CIDCO has had the charge of implementation, in addition to the local authorities.

RAJASTHAN

The Town Planning Organization of the State has completed draft plans for 3 cities and draft plans are nearing completion for 4 more cities. The implementation agencies are local authorities, Urban Improvement Trusts and other Government Departments. It is stated that because of multifarious development agencies there are problems of coordination which cause considerable delay not only in decision making but also in actual execution of development works.

WEST BENGAL

A statement of 7 plans being prepared by the Town and Country Planning Department of the Government of West Bengal has been received. In most cases the work is in hand and implementation is mostly with the different state departments and the concerned municipalities except Calcutta Metropolitan District for which CMDA is the implementing authority. Structural plan for CMD is stated to be under preparation.

PREPARATION OF MASTER PLAN IN ANDHRA PRADESH, SEPTEMBER, 1974

S. No.	Name of the town	Population as per 1971 Census	Date of preparation of Master Plans (outline development plan)		Agency for	
			Started	Completed	Planning	Implementation
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Hyderabad	17,96,339	1-7-1964	27.6.1968	D.T.P. on behalf of the Municipal Corporation, Hyderabad.	Municipal Corporation, Hyderabad or U.D. Authority if constituted.
2.	Vishakhapatnam	3,55,045	16.6.1965	7.12.1968	T.P. Trust, Vishakhapatnam	T.P. Trust, Vishakhapatnam or Mpl. Council or U.D.A.
3.	Vijayawada	3,44,607	1.2.1965	17.6.1967	D.T.P. on behalf of the Municipal Corporation.	Municipal Council, U.D.A. if constituted.
4.	Guntur	2,69,991	1.11.1965	16.5.1968	—do—	—do—

(Continued)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	Warangal	2,07,520	12.10.1965	25.2.1969	—do—	Municipal Council or T.P. Trust.
6.	Rajahmundry	1,88,805	1.11.1965	30.10.1971	—do—	—do—
7.	Kakinada	1,64,200	1.11.1965	3 7.1971	—do—	—do—
8.	Kurnool	1,36,710	1.7.1967	29.5.1972	—do—	—do—
9.	Nellore	1,33,590	1.7.1967	31.5.1973	—do—	—do—
10.	Eluru	1,27,023	1.11.1965	6.10.1970	—do—	—do—
11.	Nizamabad	1,15,640	1.5.1969	1.11.1972	—do—	—do—
12.	Machilipatnam	1,12,612	1.12.1965	19.7.1972	—do—	—do—
13.	Tenali	1,02,937	1.5.1969	12.7.1974	—do—	Municipal Council or U.D. Authority.
14.	Ananthapur	80,069	16.8.1971	—	—do—	Municipal Council or T.P. Trust.
15.	Kothagudem	75,542	1.4.1969	15.9.1972	—do—	Notified area com- mittee or T.P. Trust.

16.	Cuddapah	66,195	15.9.1972	—	—do—	Municipal Council or T.P. Trust.
17.	Tirupathi	65,843	1.5.1969	—	—do—	—
18.	Ongole	53,330	20.4.1970	—	—do—	—
19.	Bhimavaram	63,762	15.9.1972	—	—do—	—
20.	Mahboobnagar	51,756	1.6.1971	—	—do—	Municipal Council or T.P. Trust.
21.	Kareemanagar	48,918	15.9.1972	—	—do—	—do—
22.	Mancheri	19,808	1.7.1970	—	—do—	—do—
23.	Zaheerabad	18,424	10.11.1970	—	—do—	—do—
24.	Jagtial	30,900	12.11.1969	—	—do—	—do—
25.	Suryapet	21,724	15.4.1973	—	—do—	—do—

Remarks about plan implementation progress. Andhra Pradesh Urban Areas Development (Bill), 1974 has since been passed by the legislature. The provisions of the Andhra Pradesh Urban Development Bill, 1974 provides for constitution of Urban Development Authorities for implementation of Master Plans or Development Plans of the towns of Andhra Pradesh State.

CITY PLANS—ASSAM, 1974

Name of the city, town or region	Population 1971	Date of preparation of plans		Agency for	
		Started	Completed	Planning	Implementation
Gauhati	2,00,377	1958	1965 (Revised Plan submitted on 16.2.72)	Town & Country Planning Organisa- tion, Government of Assam	Gauhati Develop- ment Authority 1962
Tinsukia	54,911	1958	1967	—do—	Tinsukia Development Authority, 1963
Dibrugarh	80,348	1964	(submitted to Government on 6.6.72)	—do—	—
Jorhat	70,674	1966	(submitted to Government on 14.5.71)	—do—	—
Silchar	52,596	1964	—do—	—do—	—
Tezpur	39,870	1966	—do—	—do—	—
Nowgong	56,537	1971	(Draft Master plan submitted on 17.6.74)	—do—	—
Sibsagar	27,426	1971	Draft submitted on 17.6.74)	—do—	—

PREPARATION OF DEVELOPMENT PLANS IN BIHAR, 1974

Name of the city, town and region	Population 1971	Date of preparation of plan		Agency for	
		Started	Completed	Planning	Implementation
1	2	3	4	5	6
Master Plan, Ranchi	1,61,007 (in 1961)	1962	March 1965	T & C. P.O. with Assistance of R.I.T. (Ranchi Improvement Trust)	Ranchi Improvement Trust, Ranchi, and other public agencies
Master Plan for Budh-Gaya	6,968	1963	July 1966	T & C. P.O.	Budh-Gaya Town Planning Authority, Budh-Gaya & other public agencies
Master Plan for Rajgir	13,098	1963	March 1965	...	Rajgir Town Planning Authority, Rajgir and other public agencies
Master Plan for Gaya	1,79,884	1963	1965	T & C. P.O. with Assistance of Gaya Improvement Trust	Gaya Improvement Trust, Gaya and other public agencies

(Continued)

Continued

1	2	3	4	5	6
Master Plan for Muzaffarpur	1,09,048 (in 1961)	April 1963	March 1965	T & C.P.O.	Muzaffarpur Improvement Trust, Muzaffarpur and other public agencies
Master Plan for Hazaribag	54,818	Aug. 1964	October 1965	T & C.P.O.	Various Public agencies
Master Plan for Niterhat	2,527	Sept. 1965	October 1965	T & C.P.O.	"
Master Plan for Patratu	14,502	March 1966	October 1966	T & C.P.O.	"
Master Plan for Dhanbad Jharlia—Sindri, Katras Town Group	6,98,000	March 1964	March 1968	T & C. P.O.	Various Public agencies
Master Plan for Jamshedpur-Adityapur mango-Jugslai area	4,56,146	Jan., 1966	May 1968	"	TISCO and various public agencies
Master Plan for Bokaro Chas area	1,07,159	July, 1964	Sept. 1967	"	Bokaro Chas Town Planning Authority & various public agencies

Master Plan for Bokaro Region	5,10,000	July 1967	April 1969	"	B.S.L. Bokaro T.F.A. and various other public agencies
Master Plan for Dehri-on-sona-cum-Sasaram	75,874 (in 1961)	March 1964	March 1970	"	Various public agencies
Master Plan for Begusarai-Barauni-Teghra camp	96,808 (in 1961)	March 1964	Octo. 1970	"	Various public agencies
Master Plan for Fatwah	15,309	April 1971	June 1971	"	"
Master Plan for Darbhanga	1,03,016	1965	1972	"	"
Master Plan for Bashukinath	6,466	early 1973	late 1973	"	Various public agencies
Master Plan for Deoghar	3,01,13 (in 1961)	1969	1973	"	"
Master Plan for Patna	4,75,300	1955	1961	Improvement Trust Patna	

Remarks about plan implementation process. There is no way to assess the progress as very little development being done by the Improvement Trusts and Town Planning Authorities. Adequate machinery is not available to record the development projects undertaken by other public agencies.

PREPARATION OF DEVELOPMENT PLANS IN THE GUJARAT STATE
List of Sanctioned Development Plans

Sl. No.	Name of the city, town or region	Population as per 1971 Census	Date of preparation of plans		Agency for		Remarks about plans implementation progress
			Started/dec- laration of intention	Completed/ Government sancion to Dev. Plan	Planning by town plan- ning & valua- tion dept.	Implemen- tation by local au- thority	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Rajkot	3,00,612	11.1.62	4.6.71	T.P. & V.D.	L.A.	Not avail- able
2.	Upleta	35,326	1.8.66	31.12.72	"	"	"
3.	Morvi	60,976	27.9.65	16.7.71	"	"	"
4.	Surendranagar	66,667	1.7.64	22.11.68	"	"	"
5.	Mahuva	41,588	17.11.65	23.3.72	"	"	"
6.	Savar Kundla	39,215	22.7.66	2.7.71	"	"	"
7.	Amreli	43,794	11.5.58	11.4.72	"	"	"
8.	Junagadh	95,900	4.7.60	20.7.64	"	"	"
9.	Veraval Patan	75,520	6.8.67	20.9.73	"	"	"
10.	Porbandar	96,881	10.4.63	29.2.68	"	"	"

11.	Modasa	22,483	25.8.67	1.4.74	"	"	"
12.	Kadi	28,332	28.9.59	15.6.64	"	"	"
13.	Patan	64,519	15.4.59	11.1.68	"	"	"
14.	Sidhpur	41,334	23.7.64	1.10.69	"	"	"
15.	Unjha	27,179	17.6.65	15.10.69	"	"	"
16.	Vadnagar	19,329	25.6.63	22.9.66	"	"	"
17.	Visnagar	34,863	9.8.63	15.1.69	"	"	"
18.	Kalol	50,321	12.4.58	21.8.65	"	"	"
19.	Ahmedabad	15,91,832	1.12.58	21.8.65	"	"	"
20.	Dholka	35,520	21.5.58	2.11.64	"	"	"
21.	Sanand	18,985	23.3.65	7.6.72	"	"	"
22.	Virangam	43,790	—	23.4.62	"	"	"
23.	Mehmadabad	17,592	14.7.62	3.2.66	"	"	"
24.	Kheda	15,333	23.6.62	4.10.66	"	"	"
25.	Nadiad	1,08,269	28.1.63	4.10.66	"	"	"
26.	Vaso	10,614	28.9.67	15.2.72	"	"	"
27.	Anand	59,155	31.12.57	18.5.67	"	"	"
28.	Unreth	24,225	15.9.58	28.10.64	"	"	"
29.	Petlad	39,535	18.5.63	22.1.68	"	"	"
30.	Sojitra	12,905	29.9.67	14.3.72	"	"	"
31.	Borsad	50,738	29.5.59	24.4.63	"	"	"
32.	Cambay	62,097	9.9.60	16.2.70	"	"	"

(Continued)

Continued

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
33.	Kapadvanj	30,748	—	30.6.58	T.P. & V.D.	L.A.	Not available
34.	Dharmaj	—	21.12.67	15.3.72	"	"	"
35.	Godhra	66,853	29.1.60	6.5.68	"	"	"
36.	Dohad	51,406	19.2.58	20.3.64	"	"	"
37.	Devgad Baria	13,235	30.1.65	4.7.68	"	"	"
38.	Vadodara	4,67,487	27.6.59	21.9.70	"	"	"
39.	Karjan	11,968	30.4.65	16.7.70	"	"	"
40.	Padra	24,229	9.6.59	29.1.66	"	"	"
41.	Vaghodia	7,551	28.9.66	15.1.69	"	"	"
42.	Dabhoi	37,892	26.4.63	1.1.66	"	"	"
43.	Sankheda	7,973	2.7.68	30.4.73	"	"	"
44.	Bharuch	92,251	14.7.61	26.3.68	"	"	"
45.	Anklesvar	26,220	30.4.63	29.5.68	"	"	"
46.	Jambusar	24,251	27.1.62	11.12.68	"	"	"
47.	Rajpipla	25,769	7.2.64	29.10.68	"	"	"
48.	Surat	4,71,656	—	20.8.59	"	"	"
49.	Adajan	—	6.8.66	26.7.71	"	"	"
50.	Valsad	63,069	13.12.57	29.11.65	"	"	"
51.	Rander	—	24.10.64	20.2.69	"	"	"
52.	Kathor (surat)	8,526	4.7.66	4.5.73	"	"	"
53.	Umbergaon	7,768	10.1.66	17.2.72	"	"	"
54.	Gandevi	12,231	4.7.69	20.6.74	"	"	"
55.	Bilimora	33,925	3.12.62	10.1.72	"	"	"
56.	Navsari	72,979	18.5.63	9.6.70	"	"	"

PREPARATION OF DEVELOPMENT PLANS IN HIMACHAL PRADESH

Name of the city, town or region	Population 1971	Date of preparation of plans		Agency for		Remarks about plan imple- mentation progress
		Started	Completed	Planning	Implemen- tation	
I	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bilaspur	7,037	—	1960	TCPO Govt. of India & local body con- cerned	HP. PWD	The Plan has been imple- mented There plans could not be implemented for want of comprehensive legislation in the state
Nahan	16,017	1974	1974	TCPO. HP PWD	—do—	
Una	6,328	1973	1973	—do—	—do—	
Simla	55,368	1970	1973	TCPO Govt. India	—do—	
Sundernagar	21,304	1967	1967	—do—	—do—	
Mandi	16,849	1967	1967	—do—	—do—	
Jogindernagar	4,004	1967	1967	—do—	—do—	
Manali	1,800	1973	1974	—do—	—do—	
Peo	1,500	1965	1965	—do—	—do—	

(Continued)

(Continued)

Continued

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Solan	10,120	1972		Pvt. consultant	—	
Paonta Sahib	3,692	1973		—do—	—	
Hamirpur	3,671	1974		TCPO. HP PWD	—	
Dharamsala	10,939	1974		TCPO. HP PWD	—	Not yet completed, work in progress
Chamba	11,814	1974		—do—	—	
Kulu	8,959	1974		—do—	—	

A BRIEF NOTE ON THE PREPARATION OF DEVELOPMENT
PLANS IN THE KARNATAKA STATE

The Karnataka Town and Country Planning Act, 1961 has been brought into force in this state with effect from 15th January 1965. This Act can be extended to different areas, after declaring "Local Planning Areas" as contemplated under Section 4(A) of the Act. After declaring the local planning area, the State Government, in consultation with the State Town Planning Board, will constitute the City Planning Authorities under Section 4(c) of the Act. So far eleven Planning Authorities have been constituted in the places noted below :

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Bangalore | 7. Belgaum |
| 2. Mysore | 8. Shimoga-Bhadravathi |
| 3. Mangalore | 9. Davanagere |
| 4. Hubli-Dharwar | 10. Vijayanagar Steel Planning Area |
| 5. Gulbarga | |
| 6. Dandeli | 11. K.G.F. City. |

The Outline Development Plans for Bangalore, Mysore, Mangalore and Belgaum prepared by the respective Planning Authorities have been finally approved and those of Hubli-Dharwar, Gulbarga, Dandeli and Shimoga-Bhadravathi are provisionally approved by the Government. The Outline Development Plans for Davanagere, K.G.F. and Vijayanagar Steel Planning Area are under preparation. The proforma giving the information regarding progress in the preparation of development plans is enclosed.

PREPARATION OF DEVELOPMENT PLANS IN KARNATAKA STATE

Name of city or town	Population (1971)	Date of prepara- tion of plans	Agency for	
			Planning	Implementation
Bangalore	16,48,232	*1967	Plng. Authority, Bangalore	The Improvement Trust Boards, local authorities and other State Govt. Departments
Belgaum	2,13,830	1969	Plng. Authority, Belgaum	
Mangalore	2,14,093	1969	Plng. Authority, Mangalore	
Mysore	3,55,636	1968	Plng. Authority, Mysore	
Dandeli	25,435	1972	—do—	Dandeli
Gulbarga	1,45,630	1970	—do—	Gulbarga
Hubli-Dharwar	3,79,555	1970	—do—	Hubli-Dharwar
Shimoga	1,02,703	1971	—do—	Shimoga-Bhadravathi
Bhadravathi	1,01,350	1971	—do—	—do—
K.G.F. ¹	1,18,889	1966	Deptt. of Town Planning	
Gadag-Betageri	95,387	1966	—do—	—do—
Hospet ²	65,342	1965	—do—	—do—

Basavakalyan	25,467	1972	—do—
Chikkaballapur	29,280	1965	—do—
Gangavathi	34,638	1966	—do—
Nippani	35,129	1972	—do—
Sankeswar	18,950	1972	—do—
Soundatti-Yellamma	16,011	1971	—do—
Annigeri	14,671	1965	—do—
Chitapur	14,227	1968	—do—
Navalgund	11,982	—	—do—

Remarks on Plan Implementation. The various development plans are at different stages of implementation.

*Surveys and preliminary works in the preparation of development plans, for cities mentioned from Sl. No. 1 to Sl. No. 9, were carried out by the Department of Town Planning earlier.

¹A Planning Authority constituted on 30.7.73.

²A Planning Authority constituted on 27.4.73 for preparation of a regional plan for Tungabhadra Valley Region.

PREPARATION OF DEVELOPMENT PLANS
IN KERALA—1974

The Town Planning Acts and Rules in force in the state of Kerala are as follows :

1. Travancore Town Planning Act 1108. This is in force in the Travancore Cochin area of the State.
2. Madras Town Planning Act 1920—This is in force in Malabar area of the State which was formerly in the Madras State.
3. Travancore Town and Country Planning Act 1945. This Act is in force in the erstwhile Travancore area of the state only.
4. Unified Town and Country Planning Bill. A draft Kerala Town and Country Planning Bill prepared by this Department on the lines of the model Town and Country Planning bill was submitted to Government for enactment. This was prepared with a view to have a comprehensive legislation for town and country planning applied to entire State and empowering the local planning authorities and villages and for their enforcement.
5. Kerala Municipalities Act 1960. This Act and rules made thereunder are in force in all the municipal areas in the State.
6. Kerala Panchayat Act. This Act is in force in the Panchayat areas. As per this act, Government can extend the area of operation of the Municipalities Act to Panchayat areas also if found necessary.
7. Kerala Factories Act. As per this Act, this department has to approve the locations of all the factories in the State.
8. Kerala Municipal Building Rules 1968. These rules are applicable to all the cities and Municipal towns of this State.

These rules are laid down to control all physical developments within the State based on sound planning principles.

Name of the city, town or region	Population	Date of handing over the agency for plans to the local body			Remarks
		Completed	Planning	Implementation	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Trivandrum City	4,09,627	26.10.1966	State Town planning Dept.	Trivandrum Town Plan- ning Trust	The Master Plan is statutorily sanctioned
Cochin City	4,39,066	June 1966	—do—	Cochin Town Planning Trust	
a. Calicut City	3,33,979	} Oct., 1966	—do—	Calicut Town Planning Trust	The Master Plan is statutorily sanctioned
b. Calicut Region	13,24,000		—do—	Quilon Municipality	
Quilon Town	1,24,208	May 1967	—do—	Alleppey Municipality	The Master Plan is statutorily sanctioned
Alleppey Town	1,60,166	Jan. 1967	—do—	Kottayam Municipality	
Kottayam Town	59,714	May 1971	—do—	Guruvayur Township Committee	
Guruvayur Town- ship	15,863	Nov. 1967	—do—	Palghat Municipality	
Palghat Town	95,788	Aug. 1967	—do—	Tellicherry Municipality	The Master Plan is statutorily sanctioned
Tellicherry	68,759	Feb. 1964	—do—	Cannanore Municipality	
Cannanore	55,162	Aug. 1963	—do—		
Kayamkulam	54,102	Under preparation	—do—		
Changanacherry	48,545	—do—	—do—		

Continued

Continued

1	2	3	4	5	6
Badagara Trichur	53,938 76,241	—do— Oct. 72	—do— —do—	Trichur Municipality	Statutory processing in progress
Idukki	Not availa- ble	Development plan is under preparation			
Malappuram	32,002	Preparation of the development plan is nearing completion			

I. STATEMENT SHOWING THE REGIONAL PLANS IN MAHARASHTRA STATE
AS ON 1.9.1974

Name of Region	Population 1971 (in lakhs)	Dates of preparation R.P.		Agency for		Remarks about plans implementation progress
		Started	Compl.	Plan	Impl.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
BOMBAY DIVISION						
1. Bombay Panel Regional Plan (61 census)	52.83	31.7.67	29.1.70	Regional Planning Board	Various Govt. Depts. & the Deve. Authorities as directed by Govt.	So far the Bombay Metropolitan Regional Plan only has been sanctioned by the Govt. during 1973. As regards the recommendation of New Bombay in the sanctioned B. M R. P., C.I.D.C.O. is implementing the same. Regional Plan is yet to be approved by Govt.
2. Nasik Ozar Regional Plan	6.79	15.2.71	24.5.73	"	"	
POONA DIVISION						
1. Poona Metropolitan Regional Plan (61 census)	9.93	10.8.67	12.3.70	"	"	As regards the recommendation of Pimpri-Chinchwad New Town Deve.

(Continued)

Continued

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Kolhapur Ichal- karanji Regional Plan	9.76	7.6.73	11.7.74	Regional Plan- ning Board	Various Govt. Depts. & the Deve. Authori- ties as directed by Govt.	Authority has been establi- shed Regional Plan is yet to be approved by Government
3. Sangli Miraj Regional Plan NAGPUR DIVISION	10.95	11.7.73	—	—	—	Regional Plan under pre- paration
1. Nagpur Regional Plan (61 census)	8.27	23.11.67	13.5.71	—	—	Regional Plan yet to be approved by Government
2. Aurangabad Jalna Regional Plan	7.85	3.7.73	—	—	—	Regional Plan under prepa- ration

II. STATEMENT OF PREPARATION OF DEVELOPMENT PLANS IN MAHARASHTRA OTHER THAN REGIONAL PLANS AS ON 1.9.74

In all cases the plans were prepared by local authorities with the help of the Town Planning and valuation Department of the Maharashtra. The Implementing Authorities are the local bodies themselves but except for a few proposals the implementation by and large reported to be marginal. Districtwise list of towns for which plans were prepared with date of completion is given below :

District (1)	Date of Completion (2)
THANA DIST. (8)	
1. Thana (R)	7.12.70
2. Kalyan (R)	16.6.59
3. Bhiwandi (R)	13.9.73
4. Ulhasnagar	4.3.71
5. Dombivli	1.8.74
6. Bassein	11.9.69
7. Ambernath	27.9.72
8. Jawhar	21.12.72
KOLABA DIST. (10)	
1. Panvel (R)	8.1.70
2. Alibag	29.12.68
3. Mahad (R)	1.9.60
4. Pon	9.3.67
5. Roha	9.3.67
6. Uran	21.10.73
7. Murud-Janjira	24.1.74
8. Shiviwardhan	18.6.70
9. Khopali	20.12.73
10. Matheran	16.6.66
JALGAON DIST. (13)	
1. Jalgaon (R)	33.12.71
2. Bhusawal	14.4.60
3. Amalner	19.8.60
4. Chalisgaon (R)	7.2.74
5. Dharamgaon	4.4.63

(R) Stands for revised Plans. Original completed earlier.

(Continued)

(Continued)

(1)	(2)
6. Chopda	28.12.72
7. Yawal	28.1.65
8. Pachora	5.1.67
9. Faizapur	30.5.68
10. Raver	8.12.66
11. Savada	14.1.65
12. Parola	14.3.68
13. Erandol	4.4.63
<i>DHULIA DIST.</i>	(6)
1. Dhulia	24.12.59
2. Mandurbar	4.4.68
3. Shirampur-Waravade	11.12.69
4. Taloda	11.1.64
5. Dondaicha-Waravade	17.9.63
6. Shohada-Kukdel	1.8.63
<i>NASIK DIST.</i>	(12)
1. Nasik (R)	1950
2. Malegaon	22.12.66
3. Nasik Rd. Deolali	18.7.68
4. Manmad	21.1.60
5. Yeola	27.6.68
6. Sinner	27.8.64
7. Igatpuri	26.3.70
8. Nandgaon	—
9. Trimbak	26.7.73
10. Bhagur	5.10.72
11. Satana	15.1.63
12. Satpur	—
<i>RATNAGIRI DIST.</i>	(7)
1. Ratnagiri	12.12.63
2. Chiplun	29.11.68
3. Malvan (R)	1955
4. Savantwadi	19.12.68
5. Khed	4.9.69
6. Rajapur	12.4.73
7. Vengurla	22.11.73

(Continued)

(Continued)

(1)	(2)
POONA DIVISION	
POONA DIST. (13)	
1. Poona (Corpn)	7.5.64
2. Lonavala (R)	12.7.72
3. Baramati (R)	25.5.72
4. Saswad	25.5.72
5. Jejuri	20.3.70
6. Indapur	26.2.70
7. Shirpur	9.3.67
8. Talegaon Dabhade	26.6.69
9. Alandi	14.8.69
10. Junnar (R)	2.5.74
11. Dhond (R)	—
12. Bhore	27.12.62
13. Pimpri Chinchwad	30.11.72
SHOLAPUR DIST. (10)	
1. Sholapur (R)	28.2.74
2. Barsi	15.6.63
3. Pandharpur	31.5.63
4. Akkalkot	24.12.70
5. Karmala	11.5.72
6. Sangolo	2.5.74
7. Maindargi	5.9.74
8. Mangalwedha	19.7.73
9. Dudhani	25.4.74
10. Curduwad	3.7.69
KOLHAPUR DIST. (10)	
1. Kolhapur (R)	21.12.72
2. Ichalkaranji	14.3.59
3. Jayasingpur	21.9.61
4. Gadhingalaj	7.3.68
5. Malkapur	—
6. Murgud	2.3.72
7. Vadgaon	31.7.69
8. Kagal	13.7.72
9. Kurundwad	10.7.69
10. Panhala Hill Stn.	12.3.64
SANGLI DIST. (6)	
1. Sangli (R)	6.1.72

(Continued)

(Continued)

(1)	(2)
6. Chopda	28.12.72
7. Yawal	28.1.65
8. Pachora	5.1.67
9. Faizapur	30.5.68
10. Raver	8.12.66
11. Savada	14.1.65
12. Parola	14.3.68
13. Erandol	4.4.63
<i>DHULIA DIST.</i>	(6)
1. Dhulia	24.12.59
2. Mandurbar	4.4.68
3. Shirampur-Waravade	11.12.69
4. Taloda	11.1.64
5. Dondaicha-Waravade	17.9.63
6. Shohada-Kukdel	1.8.63
<i>NASIK DIST.</i>	(12)
1. Nasik (R)	1950
2. Malegaon	22.12.66
3. Nasik Rd. Deolali	18.7.68
4. Manmad	21.1.60
5. Yeola	27.6.68
6. Sinner	27.8.64
7. Igatpuri	26.3.70
8. Nandgaon	—
9. Trimbak	26.7.73
10. Bhagur	5.10.72
11. Satana	15.1.63
12. Satpur	—
<i>RATNAGIRI DIST.</i>	(7)
1. Ratnagiri	12.12.63
2. Chiplun	29.11.68
3. Malvan (R)	1955
4. Savantwadi	19.12.68
5. Khed	4.9.69
6. Rajapur	12.4.73
7. Vengurla	22.11.73

(Continued)

(Continued)

(1)	(2)
POONA DIVISION	
POONA DIST. (13)	
1. Poona (Corp'n)	7.5.64
2. Lonavala (R)	12.7.72
3. Baramati (R)	25.5.72
4. Saswad	25.5.72
5. Jejuri	20.3.70
6. Indapur	26.2.70
7. Shirpur	9.3.67
8. Talegaon Dabhade	26.6.69
9. Alandi	14.8.69
10. Junnar (R)	2.5.74
11. Dhond (R)	—
12. Bhore	27.12.62
13. Pimpri Chinchwad	30.11.72
SHOLAPUR DIST. (10)	
1. Sholapur (R)	28.2.74
2. Barsi	15.6.63
3. Pandharpur	31.5.63
4. Akkalkot	24.12.70
5. Karmala	11.5.72
6. Sangole	2.5.74
7. Maindargi	5.9.74
8. Mangalwedha	19.7.73
9. Dudhani	25.4.74
10. Curduwad	3.7.69
KOLHAPUR DIST. (10)	
1. Kolhapur (R)	21.12.72
2. Ichalkaranji	14.3.59
3. Jayasingpur	21.9.61
4. Gadhingalaj	7.3.68
5. Malkapur	—
6. Murgud	2.3.72
7. Vadgaon	31.7.69
8. Kagal	13.7.72
9. Kurundwad	10.7.69
10. Panhala Hill Stn.	12.3.64
SANGLI DIST. (6)	
1. Sangli (R)	6.1.72

(Continued)

(Continued)

(1)	(2)
2. Miraj (R)	—
3. Islampur	10 1.63
4. Tasgaon (R)	2.6.74
5. Ashta	7.12.61
6. Vita	28.6 73
<i>SATARA DIST.</i>	(8)
1. Satara (R)	10 8 72
2. Karad	13.12.62
3. Wai	8.9.60
4. Phalyan	1.6.72
5. Rahimatpur	9.10.69
6. Mhaswad	28 8.69
7. Panchgani	2.3.72
8. Mahabaleshwar	6 1.66
<i>AHMEDNAGAR DIST.</i>	(5)
1. Ahmednagar (R)	12.10.72
2. Sangamner (R)	—
3. Shrirampur	29.6.72
4. Kopergaon	1964
5. Rahuri	17.12.73
<i>NAGPUR DIVISION</i>	(11)
<i>NAGPUR DIST.</i>	
1. Nagpur Corpn.	28.12.72
2. Kamptee	28.4.70
3. Umrer	27.3.74
4. Ramtak	4.1.73
5. Khapa	—
6. Kalmeshwar	12.10.72
7. Mowar	—
8. Saoner	27.8.68
9. Narkhed	29 6.72
10. Mohpa	17.4.69
11. Katol	21.3.74
<i>BHANDARA DIST.</i>	(5)
1. Bhandara	29.3.73
2. Gondia	16.7.70
3. Tumsar	30.12.72
4. Pauni	20.5.71

(Continued)

(Continued)

(1)	(2)
5. Tirora	20.5.71
<i>YEOTMAL DIST.</i> (8)	
1. Yeotmal	1.11.73
2. Wani	15.1.70
3. Digras	1.1.70
4. Pasad	27.9.73
5. Darwha	—
6. Pandharkawada	25.7.68
7. Umerkhed	—
8. Ghatanji	—
<i>AMRAVATI DIST.</i> (13)	
1. Amravati	29.7.70
2. Achlapur city	31.5.73
3. Anjangaon Surji	26.9.68
4. Achalpur Civil Station	28.6.73
5. Badnera	28.8.71
6. Warud	21.8.69
7. Daryapur	—
8. Dhamangaon	15.5.69
9. Chandur Rly.	—
10. Chandur Bazar	7.2.74
11. Shendurjana	—
12. Morshi	—
13. Chikhaldia	19.12.68
<i>CHANDRAPUR DIST.</i> (5)	
1. Chandrapur	27.7.72
2. Ballarpur	22.11.73
3. Warora	—
4. Rajura	4.11.71
5. Desaiganj	8.2.73
<i>WARDHA DIST.</i> (6)	
1. Wardha	—
2. Arvi	30.11.72
3. Hinganghat	7.9.72
4. Pulgaon	22.2.73
5. Deoli	19.12.68
6. Sindhi	28.5.70

(Continued)

(Continued)

(1)	(2)
AKOLA DIST.	
1. Akola	11.1.73
2. Akot	—
3. Karanja	27.1.72
4. Murtizapur	27.5.71
5. Washim	28.12.72
6. Balapur	17.1.74
7. Telora	—
8. Patur	28.12.72
9. Mangrulpir	—
BULDHANA DIST. (9)	
1. Buldhana	3.8.72
2. Khamgaon	28.12.72
3. Shegaon	30.11.72
4. Malkapur	5.7.73
5. Nandura	18.11.71
6. Jalgaon-Jamod	11.4.74
7. Mehekar	—
8. Chikhali	5.9.74
9. Deolgaon Raja	—
AURANGABAD DIVISION (9)	
1. Aurangabad (R)	8.6.72
2. Jalna	1.7.71
3. Kannad (R)	16.11.72
4. Ambad	27.1.73
5. Paithan	23.4.70
6. Vaijapur	8.7.71
7. Bhokardan	15.11.73
8. Gangapur	13.8.70
9. Khuldabad	2.7.70
BHIR DIST. (6)	
1. Bhir	8.4.71
2. Parali Vaijanath	28.6.73
3. Ambejogai	18.4.74
4. Manjlegaon	—
5. Georai	—
6. Dharur	—

(Continued)

(Continued)

(1)	(2)
<i>PARBHANI DIST.</i>	(12)
1. Parbhani (R)	21.5.70
2. Hingoli	29.4.71
3. Basmatnagar	10.1.74
4. Manwath	—
5. Sonpath	—
6. Partur	—
7. Kalamnuri	—
8. Purna	—
9. Cankhed	—
10. Sailu (R)	18.7.68
11. Jintur	—
12. Pathri	—
<i>NANDED DIST.</i>	(11)
1. Nanded (R)	28.12.72
2. Deglur	30.6.71
3. Billoli	—
4. Umri	—
5. Mudkhed	10.1.74
6. Kandhar	—
7. Dharmabad	29.3.73
8. Kundalwadi	—
9. Hadgaon	—
10. Mukhed	—
11. Kinwat	18.4.74
<i>OSMANABAD DIST.</i>	(13)
1. Osmanabad	8.4.71
2. Latur (R)	31.3.71
3. Udgir	18.12.69
4. Tuljapur	26.6.69
5. Oemorga	—
6. AUSA	—
7. Ahmedpur	—
8. Paranda	—
9. Bhoom	—
10. Murun	4.4.74
11. Naldurga	—
12. Kallam	30.9.71
13. Nilganga	—

CITY PLANS IN RAJASTHAN, 1974

Sl. No.	Name of City	Population 1971	Date of preparation of plans		Agency for	
			Started	Completed	Planning	Implementation
1.	Jaipur	6,15,258		{ Drafts completed, { Public objections [received	Town Planning Organisation	Local Authorities and other Govt. Deppts.
2.	Ajmer	2,64,291				
3.	Kota	2,12,991				
4.	Jodhpur	3,17,612	Draft Plans nearing completion		"	"
5.	Bikaner	2,08,894			"	"
6.	Udaipur	1,61,278			"	"
7.	Alwar	1,00,378			"	"

Remarks about Plans Implementation Progress. Because of multifarious development agencies problem of coordinating implementation does arise. This causes considerable delay not only in decision-making but also in actual execution of development works.

PREPARATION OF DEVELOPMENT PLANS IN WEST BENGAL

Name of the City, Town or Region	Popula- tion 1971	Dates of preparation of plans		Agency for		Remarks about plans implementa- tion progress
		Started	Completed	Planning	Implementa- tion	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Calcutta Metro- politan District	82 lakhs	Structural Plan for the CMD under prepara- tion	Sectoral plan in water sup- ply drainage, sewerage tra- ffic and trans- portation	T&CP Deptt. Govt. of W. Bengal	Calcutta Metro- politan Development Authority	Progress according to programme ap- proved by the State Govt.
Krishnanagar Town	86,000	Master Plan started	Projects iden- tified for im- mediate imple- mentation	—do—	Different depart- ments of the state Govt. and concer- ned Municipality	Works are yet to start
Midnapore Town	71,000	Master Plan started	Projects iden- tified for im- mediate im- plementation	T&CP Deptt. Govt. of W. Bengal	Different depart- ments of the State Govt. and concer- ned Municipality	—do—

(Continued)

(Continued)

(Continued)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Baharamore Town	73,000	Master Plan started	Projects identified for immediate implementation	T&CP Deptt. Govt. of W. Bengal	Different departments of the State Govt. and concerned Municipality	Works are yet to start
Asansol Town	1,56,000	—do—	Projects yet to be identified	—do—	—do—	—do—
Siliguri Town	97,500	—do—	—do—	—do—	—do—	—do—
Coochbehar Town	53,700	Intend to start by Nov. 1974	—do—	—do—	—do—	—do—

PREPARATION OF DEVELOPMENT PLANS IN UTTAR PRADESH, FEBRUARY 1975

Name of the city, town of region	Population 1971	Date of preparation of plans		Implementation	
		Started	Completed		
1	2	3	4	5	
Kanpur	12,75,242	1962	1969	Development Authority	
Lucknow	8,13,982	1963	1968	—do—	—do—
Allahabad	5,13,026	1967	1972	—do—	—do—
Varanasi	6,40,947	1964	1969	—do—	—do—
Saharanpur	2,25,396	1965	1967	1. Municipal Board	
				2. Controlling Authority	
Ghaziabad	1,27,700	1958	1960	1. Improvement Trust	
				2. Controlling Authority	
Rudrapur	25,173	1964	1972	Controlling Authority	
Kitchcha	12,300	1964	1967	—do—	—do—
Bazpur	10,412	1964	1967	—do—	—do—
Badrinath	nil	1967	1970	—do—	—do—
Pithoragarh	11,942	1964	1967	—do—	—do—
Dalla-Obra-Chopan	25,000	1964	1970	—do—	—do—
Pipri-Turra-Renukoot	30,000	1964	1970	—do—	—do—
Robertsganj	14,521	1964	1970	—do—	—do—

(Continued)

(Continued)

1	2	3	4	5
Gopeshwar	6,384	1960	1970	Controlling Authority
Mathura	1,40,450	1969	1974	—do— —do—
Moradabad	2,72,652	1969	1973	—do— —do—
Bareilly	3,26,106	1969	1974	—do— —do—
Agra	6,34,622	1969	1974	Development Authority
Meerut	3,67,754	1964	1970	Controlling Authority
Rae Bareli	38,765	1972	1974	—do— —do—
Dehradun	2,03,464	1970	1972	1. Municipal Board
Hardwar	79,277	1970	1972	2. Controlling Authority
Rishikesh	17,646	1970	1972	1. Municipal Board
Ramnagar-Mughal-				—do— —do—
Sarai	46,853	1964	1974	Controlling Authority
Gorakhpur	2,30,911	1970	1974	—do— —do—
Modinagar	43,470	1973	1974	—do— —do—
Jaunpur	80,737	1970	1974	—do— —do—
Pauri	8,870	1974	1975	—do— —do—

Note : 1. All plans have been prepared by the State Town and Country Planning Department.

2. Progress of Plan Implementation in Kaval Town is satisfactory. Elsewhere the progress is slow due to lack of resources.

20 Integrated City Development Programme for Ludhiana 1974-79—A Summary*

Ludhiana with a growth rate of 64.33 per cent during the 1961-71 is one of the fastest growing medium towns in India. Its population in 1971 was 4.52 lakhs. If the past growth trend is allowed to continue, the city is likely to attain a population of 7.25 lakhs in 1981, 11.60 lakhs in 1991 and 19.10 lakhs in 2001. Any meaningful decrease in growth rate can be achieved only by diversion of the industry and economic activities flowing in this area to other growth centres on the basis of a well conceived regional development plan, which will involve a number of bold measures including differential taxations and other financial and infrastructural inducements at the alternative growth centres. Assuming that the policy for regional development and policy of diversion of industry and economic activities will be successfully implemented thereby resulting in effective check in the growth of the city in 1981-91 decade, if not earlier, the population of the city is projected at 7.25 lakhs in 1981, 10.50 lakhs in 1991 and 14-15 lakhs in 2001.

*The Punjab Government set up on November 1, 1973 an "Environmental Research Planning and Design Organisation" (ERPDO) at Ludhiana. This was followed in 1974 by a Coordination Committee bringing together senior representatives of all the State Government agencies and local authorities under the dynamic Chairmanship of Shri N.N. Vohra, Secretary for Housing, Town Planning and Local Government, Punjab to guide the ERPDO prepare the Ludhiana Project under the Central Scheme for Integrated Development of Metropolitan cities small and medium size Town, and Area of National Importance. Part I of the Project Report setting out Objectives and Summary of Recommendations is reproduced here

In the two decades between 1951 and 1971, the city grew two and a half times in population but more than five times in its physical size. Most of this growth of the city has been haphazard and unplanned, resulting in very uneconomic use of agricultural land for urban purposes. This has also resulted in serious shortfalls in the urban infrastructure. In terms of costs, more than Rs. 32 crores would be needed today at current prices, to clear the backlogs in essential services and amenities such as water supply, sewerage, storm water drainage, development of roads, removal of garbage and composting, development of public parks and landscaping, etc., but not including housing, schools, health centres and other needs of the urban population. If the present trend of haphazard growth is allowed to continue, the cost of providing such basic amenities for the city in 1991 will be about Rs. 135 crores at constant prices.

No Government or public authority can provide funds of the aforesaid order to meet the aforesaid needs. Therefore, a new approach aiming at making the entire process of development and improvement of the city self financing has been adopted in this Project, with perspective up to 1990-91. The Project Report contains various detailed schemes, for implementation within the five year period 1974-79, which shall form the first phase of the implementation of the Master Plan. For this purpose, loans amounting to Rs. 11.78 crores and a subsidy of Rs. 2.70 crores would be needed to launch various schemes of integrated development of the entire urban area. The development project, however, contains an in-built mechanism to self finance the entire future development of the city as well as the improvements in the existing city after the initial five year period. The loans taken for the Project will not only be fully repaid with interest but, in due course, the Project would be able to finance the development of other growth centres to which industry and economic activities could be diverted so as to contain the growth of this city to a manageable size.

The main objectives of this development programme are:

Firstly, to prescribe a proper standard of development in the new areas to be developed, in future, for urban areas, on the self financing principle under which the entire cost of making the land fit for building operations, provision of roads, steel lighting, water supply, sewerage, drainage, construction of buildings

In the two decades between 1951 and 1971, the city grew two and a half times in population but more than five times in its physical size. Most of this growth of the city has been haphazard and unplanned, resulting in very uneconomic use of agricultural land for urban purposes. This has also resulted in serious shortfalls in the urban infrastructure. In terms of costs, more than Rs. 32 crores would be needed today at current prices, to clear the backlogs in essential services and amenities such as water supply, sewerage, storm water drainage, development of roads, removal of garbage and composting, development of public parks and landscaping, etc., but not including housing, schools, health centres and other needs of the urban population. If the present trend of haphazard growth is allowed to continue, the cost of providing such basic amenities for the city in 1991 will be about Rs. 135 crores at constant prices.

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The main objectives of this development programme are:

Firstly, to prescribe a proper standard of development in the new areas to be developed, in future, for urban areas, on the self financing principle under which the entire cost of making the land fit for building operations, provision of roads, steel lighting, water supply, sewerage, drainage, construction of buildings

of public amenities such as schools, health centres, development of public parks, land-scaping, resettlement of villages and abadies proposed to be acquired, administrative charges, conservancy and maintenance of services for five years and other matters as may be necessary shall be charged to the development cost and thus fully recovered from the sale/lease of developed plots for various uses.

Secondly, to wipe out the existing backlogs in urban services and amenities within the next five to seven years.

Thirdly, to integrate the development of the new areas (to be developed in future) with the improvement and development of services and amenities in the existing city and to make the entire process of urban improvement and development self financing, besides generating surplus funds for developing other growth centres.

Fourthly, to provide adequate land, developed to the desired standards, to fully meet with the demand for various urban uses so that speculative development and haphazard growth no longer remain economically attractive.

Fifthly, to provide for effective enforcement of the provisions of the proposed legislation for completely eliminating the evil of haphazard growth.

The Project has been formulated within the framework provided by the Master Plan of Ludhiana, which is yet in a draft stage and could not be statutorily adopted in the absence of a comprehensive law on the subject. For this purpose necessary legislation called 'Regional and Town Planning Bill' is proposed to be enacted very soon. It is quite likely that some of the long-term proposals contained in the Master Plan might undergo some revision, in due course, in the light of the urbanisation studies already in progress, but no basic changes in the five year development programme are envisaged.

It has also been well recognised that none of the existing statutes has sufficient enabling powers to cover the proper implementation of an integrated development project of the kind envisaged; nor is any of the existing authorities adequately equipped to undertake such a huge task. Therefore, the requisite enabling powers and all other relevant matters have been provided in one go in the proposed legislation, under which a very high powered Planning and Development Authority would be

set up, which shall be the apex body at the city level for the coordination, implementation and enforcement of the Project, having its own funds and armed with powers to superride other authorities, so far as this project for the development and improvement of the city is concerned.

Keeping intact the overall integrative approach the Project has been divided into two sections :

Section A contains schemes for the acquisition and development of new areas for urban uses;

Section B contains a number of schemes for the improvement of services and amenities in the existing municipal area.

The schemes are listed in tables (pages 249-53)

Sl. No.	Name of scheme	Outlay proposed for 1974-79 (Rs. in lakhs)	Physical targets 1974-79	Overall outlay (on capital works) (Rs. in lakhs)	Overall physical targets
1	2	3	4	5	6
Section A					
Acquisition and Development of New Areas:					
1.	Residential use	4325.50	Acquisition of 4250 acres, development of 2134 acres and sale of 3500 acres of land of new areas	14307.35	Acquisition development and sale of 90,000 acres of land new areas
2.	Major commercial	977.05	Acquisition and development of 177 acres of land	1771.35	Acquisition and development of 395 acres of land
3.	Industrial use	(2652.84)	Acquisition, Development and sale of 20,000 acres of land (by Punjab State Small Industries Corporation)	N.A.	N.A.
Total Section A excluding item 3		5302.55		16078.70	

(Continued)

(Continued)

1	2	3	4	5	6
7.	Removal and disposal of refuse	10.00	Augmentation of fleet and provision of depots and booths for collection and removal of refuse	62.00	Augmentation of fleet and provision of depots and booths for collection and removal of refuse
8.	Mechanical composting plant	263.83	Setting up composting plants for mechanical composting during 1974-79	N.A.	Setting up of composting plants for mechanical composting
9.	Misc. schemes	124.00	Development and land-scaping of public parks completion of swimming pools, development of Guru Nanak Stadium, setting up of electric crematoria, removal of encroachments and construction of alternative shops, removal of gowala ad-das and other amenity buildings including public toilets and urinals	188.00	Provision for developing and landscaping of public parks and other amenities
Total Section B excluding item 5.		3231.26		4222.09	

<i>Section C</i>	Housing	10680.00*	N.A.
Total outlay excluding items marked by*		8533.81	20300.79

* The outlay for these schemes are not included in the Project Report as these are to be executed by other agencies namely, the Punjab Small Industrial Development Corporation, the Punjab Roadways and Private Operators, and the Punjab Housing Development Board and Private Parties, respectively, out of their own funds, within the overall framework of the development project.

N.A. Figures not available for the present.

The foregoing account would show that an outlay of Rs. 85.33 crores, over the 5 year period 1974-79, is proposed. This outlay does not include the cost of the following schemes as these are proposed to be financed and executed by the agencies mentioned below :

<i>Scheme</i>	<i>Approx. cost (Rs. in crores)</i>	<i>Agency</i>
1. Housing	106.9	The Punjab Housing Development Board and Private Housing.
2. Acquisition and Development of land for industrial use.	26.52	The Punjab State Small Industries Corporation Ltd.
3. Mass transportation (by bus)	1.19	The Punjab Roadways and Private Operators.

These schemes, however, would be executed within the framework of the project and in accordance with the Master Plan proposals and for this purpose necessary coordination and integration will have to be done by the Planning and Development Authority, at the local level.

As regards the schemes for the acquisition and development of new areas, for residential and commercial uses, included in Section A, the total outlay proposed for the 5 year period is Rs 5302.55 lakhs. For undertaking the work of this magnitude, a seed capital of Rs. 2 crores is needed in the first year 1974-75. The seed capital would be repayable along with interest within the 5 year period. An important feature of the scheme for acquisition and development of land for residential uses is that it provides for quicker revolving of funds by introducing a system under which land could be sold in advance of the execution of development works. The mechanics of doing so are, briefly, as below :

The land acquired each year is divided into four categories of sector called A, B, C and D, for the purpose of development and disposal of plots. The sale of plots, area development and construction on the plots in all the four categories of sectors

will be done in the following manner.

Category A (development within one year)

All the plots in category 'A' are to be allotted in the first year on payment in lumpsum of full price. The Planning and Development Authority will complete all the development works in the first year itself. The allottees would be expected to complete construction within one year of the completion of the development work, otherwise plots are likely to be resumed.

Category B (development in two years)

All the plots in category 'B' will be allotted in the first year on payment of 80 per cent of the price and the balance would be payable after one year. The Planning and Development Authority will carry out all the development works in the second year. The allottees would be required to complete construction within one year of the completion of the development works.

Category C (development in three years)

All the plots in category 'C' would be allotted in the first year on payment of 60 per cent of the price and the balance will be payable in two annual instalments. The Planning and Development Authority will carry out all the development works in the third year. The allottees would be required to complete construction within one year of the completion of the development works.

Category D (Development in four years)

All the plots in Category 'D' would be allotted in the first year on payment of 40 per cent of the price. The balance will be payable in three annual instalments. The Planning and Development Authority will carry out all the development works in the 4th year. The allottees would be required to complete construction within one year from the completion of development works.

By following the above pattern the Planning and Development Authority will enjoy the following advantage :

1. It will not be required to incur premature expenditure on development works. The development of land will take place in a compact manner, followed by actual construction work by allottees.
2. The Planning and Development Authority will be able to generate assured flow of funds, in advance, for carrying

The foregoing account would show that an outlay of Rs. 85.33 crores, over the 5 year period 1974-79, is proposed. This outlay does not include the cost of the following schemes as these are proposed to be financed and executed by the agencies mentioned below :

<i>Scheme</i>	<i>Approx. cost (Rs. in crores)</i>	<i>Agency</i>
1. Housing	106.9	The Punjab Housing Development Board and Private Housing.
2. Acquisition and Development of land for industrial use.	26.52	The Punjab State Small Industries Corporation Ltd.
3. Mass transportation (by bus)	1.19	The Punjab Roadways and Private Operators.

These schemes, however, would be executed within the framework of the project and in accordance with the Master Plan proposals and for this purpose necessary coordination and integration will have to be done by the Planning and Development Authority, at the local level.

As regards the schemes for the acquisition and development of new areas, for residential and commercial uses, included in Section A, the total outlay proposed for the 5 year period is Rs 5302.55 lakhs. For undertaking the work of this magnitude, a seed capital of Rs. 2 crores is needed in the first year 1974-75. The seed capital would be repayable along with interest within the 5 year period. An important feature of the scheme for acquisition and development of land for residential uses is that it provides for quicker revolving of funds by introducing a system under which land could be sold in advance of the execution of development works. The mechanics of doing so are, briefly, as below :

The land acquired each year is divided into four categories of sector called A, B, C and D, for the purpose of development and disposal of plots. The sale of plots, area development and construction on the plots in all the four categories of sectors

will be done in the following manner.

Category A (development within one year)

All the plots in category 'A' are to be allotted in the first year on payment in lumpsum of full price. The Planning and Development Authority will complete all the development works in the first year itself. The allottees would be expected to complete construction within one year of the completion of the development work, otherwise plots are likely to be resumed.

Category B (development in two years)

All the plots in category 'B' will be allotted in the first year on payment of 80 per cent of the price and the balance would be payable after one year. The Planning and Development Authority will carry out all the development works in the second year. The allottees would be required to complete construction within one year of the completion of the development works.

Category C (development in three years)

All the plots in category 'C' would be allotted in the first year on payment of 60 per cent of the price and the balance will be payable in two annual instalments. The Planning and Development Authority will carry out all the development works in the third year. The allottees would be required to complete construction within one year of the completion of the development works.

Category D (Development in four years)

All the plots in Category 'D' would be allotted in the first year on payment of 40 per cent of the price. The balance will be payable in three annual instalments. The Planning and Development Authority will carry out all the development works in the 4th year. The allottees would be required to complete construction within one year from the completion of development works.

By following the above pattern the Planning and Development Authority will enjoy the following advantage :

1. It will not be required to incur premature expenditure on development works. The development of land will take place in a compact manner, followed by actual construction work by allottees.
2. The Planning and Development Authority will be able to generate assured flow of funds, in advance, for carrying

out the development works.

So far as the allottees are concerned, this scheme will have the advantage of assured allotment of plots to various categories of needy persons, besides offering them the choice of selecting a payment pattern as per their resources and ability to pay, *i.e.*, in lumpsum or in one or more annual instalments.

Further, the scheme envisages differential rates of sale price for various income groups, keeping in view the socialistic objectives. The current cost of land acquisition and development in Ludhiana, were approved by the Coordination Committee. On the basis of constant prices, the sale price of plots for various categories and use in the residential sectors has been taken as under :

<i>Description of plots</i>	<i>Rate per sq. yd. (in Rs.)</i>
1. Residential for high income groups	65.00
for medium income groups	60.00
for low income groups	55.00
2. Commercial	250.00
3. Community uses	15.00

An important feature of the scheme for development of major commercial areas is that the Punjab Government properties, needed for the execution of schemes for major commercial uses, are proposed to be transferred to the Development Authority on deferred payment of the cost of the land and structures, which shall be payable by the Authority after selling the plots. This would save considerable expenditure on the cost of acquisition of Government land amounting to approximately Rs. 217 lakhs (the cost is tentative and subject to confirmation by the Revenue Department). Such deferred recovery of cost would be the State Government's conscious contribution to improving the economic viability of the project.

In case the assumptions made in respect of disposal of plots and other matters do not go very wrong, the various schemes together would be able to generate the following surplus funds (after repayment of the seed capital interest thereon and other charges) :

<i>Year</i>	<i>Surplus funds to be generated by the project (Rs. in lakhs)</i>
1978-79	650.00
1980-81	250.00
1985-86	150.00
1990-91	316.98
1993-94	259.82
Total	1626.80

The surplus funds would be utilised for implementing schemes for the improvement of the existing city and for the development of the new growth centres to which industry and economic activities could be diverted. For the latter objective detailed schemes would be worked out separately.

It is relevant to reiterate that, as already explained, the scheme for the acquisition and development of land for new areas includes the entire cost of land acquisition and development and provision of all services and amenities including levelling of land, construction of roads, street lighting, water supply, sewerage, storm water drainage, tree planting and landscaping, development of public parks and open spaces, construction of community buildings for schools and health centres, maintenance, conservancy and management for a period of 5 years, as well as charges for surveys, planning, demarcation, enforcement and also for the repayment of loan and interest thereon. It is envisaged that new areas, after completion of the development works, will be handed over to the Municipal Committee for maintenance. Increasing burden on the Municipal Committee for maintenance of new areas will, however, be fully met with from the house, property and other taxes.

As regards the items contained in Section B, these relate to the improvement of the services and amenities in the existing city. The expenditure of Rs. 3,231 lakhs during the 5 year period

is proposed to be shared as below:

(Rs. in lakhs)

		Amount	Total
1. Punjab Govt.	(a) 50% share of the improvement of PWD roads within the municipal area.	236.94	
	(b) share in the construction of railway overbridges/under passes on PWD roads.	101.69	
	(c) cost of strategic roads and bypasses.	168.00	506.63
2. Railways	(a) Proportionate cost on the construction of railway overbridges/underpasses.	108.18	108.18
3. Planning and Development Authority/Improvement Trust.	(a) 25% cost of improvement of roads in the municipal area recoverable by way of betterment contribution.	116.41	116.41
4. Municipal Committee.	(a) Construction/maintenance of municipal roads & street lighting.	57.50	
	(b) 25% share of the cost of development and improvement of PWD roads in the municipal area.	181.23	
	(c) Share of the cost of railway overbridges/underpasses.	126.68	
	(d) Water supply	652.17	
	(e) Sewerage	659.08	
	(f) Storm water drainage	324.75	
	(g) Environmental improvement schemes.	100.80	
	(h) Removal of garbage & composting.	273.83	
	(i) Other Miscellaneous schemes.	124.00	2500.04
G. Total			3231.26

As regards items 1 and 2 in the para foregoing, the State Government and the Railways are expected to meet their share of the proportionate cost in respect of roads, railway over-bridges/underpasses from their own revenues.

As regards item 3 in para 13, the existing formula of sharing the cost of improvement and development of PWD roads in the municipal areas, between the State Government, Municipal Committee and improvement Trust, on 50 : 25 : 25 basis, has been adopted with the difference that the 25 per cent cost shared by the Improvement Trust shall be recoverable as betterment contribution from the owners of the properties appreciating in value on account of the implementation of improvement schemes. Necessary enabling provision is already available in this regard in the Town Improvement Act, 1922. As an alternative, betterment contribution could be recovered by the proposed Planning and Development Authority under the provisions of the proposed Regional and Town Planning Bill, pending enactment.

In order to finance the expenditure of Rs. 25.4 crores on capital works and maintenance of the schemes in the existing town, detailed under item 4 in Table at p. 258, it is felt that the Municipal Committee will not be able to fully meet this expenditure with its present revenues. Therefore, in order to finance the cost of the municipal schemes, loans and subsidies would be needed in respect of each scheme as below:

	(Rs. in lakhs)		
	<i>Loan</i>	<i>Subsidy</i>	<i>Total</i>
1. Water supply	361.00	—	361.00
2. Sewerage			
(i) Capital works	250.00	150.00	400.00
(ii) Loan for EWS	82.00	—	82.00
3. Storm Water drainage	140.00	140.00	280.00
4. Environmental improvement schemes	—	100.80	100.80
5. Garbage removal & disposal	10.00	—	10.00
6. Composting plants	135.00	65.00	200.00
Total of all schemes	978.00	455.80	1433.80

A part of the subsidy of Rs. 455.80 lakhs is proposed to be met from the increase in revenues of the municipal committee, which would need to be substantially improved over the period of next 5 years. For this purpose, a detailed examination of the existing finances of the Municipality, a projection of the income and expenditure of the Municipal Committee for next five years has been attempted. In projecting the income a number of proposals to improve the revenues of the municipality have been made. These are briefly as below:

- (a) It is observed that there is scope for substantial increase in the income from house tax, provided the entire system of assessment and administration of the house tax is rationalised and improved. In this regard it is felt that the present system of assessment based on the rental value suffers from the following defects:
 - (i) the application of Rent Restriction Act considerably reduces the potential of income from this source;
 - (ii) the system based upon rental value does not take into account the appreciation in values of land; and
 - (iii) there is considerable under-assessment under the existing system.

To overcome these drawbacks, it is proposed that house tax should be assessed at one per cent of the capital value of property. Assuming the return on investment on property at 8 per cent, in actual terms no increase in the rate of house tax is proposed, which is levied, at present, at $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the rental value. Very rough calculations have indicated that if this system of assessment on capital value basis introduced, the income from house tax in the city could be easily doubled, immediately.

The introduction of this system would involve:

1. Amendment in the Rent Restriction Act, so that the increase in house tax could be recoverable by the landlords from the tenants.
2. Amendment in the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911, to provide for assessment on capital value base.

The Director, Local Government, Punjab has undertaken to initiate action for the very early amendment of the

relevant Acts.

It is also felt that a Government Evaluation Cell will have to be set up, which could not only draw up rational formulae for assessment of lands and buildings according to their quality of construction, etc., but would also undertake checking of the assessment of properties done by the Municipal Committee, so that the incidence of under-assessment could be reduced.

- (b) The income from the remaining sources, such as octroi, rent of shops, buildings and show tax, fees and fines, and miscellaneous items have scope for only marginal increase as projected in Annexures XVII (A to D).
- (c) It is felt that it will not be correct to continue Tehbazari on account of manifold increase in traffic in all parts of the city. This should be gradually discontinued over a period of 2 years. Therefore, no income is proposed from this source from 1976-77 onward.
- (d) The Municipal Committee has envisaged an income of Rs. 10 lakhs per year from the sale of properties. It is felt that the Municipal properties should not be sold in the existing manner. Therefore, no income is proposed from this source from 1976-77 onward.
- (e) It is proposed to meter the entire water supply and increase the water rate of Rs. 1.50 per 1000 gallons to make the water supply scheme self-financing.
- (f) A levy of sewerage rate/cess at the rate of 20 per cent of the house tax is proposed to be levied in the areas which are served by public sewers.
- (g) Increase is proposed in the tariff per W.C. from the existing Rs. 1.50 to Rs. 2.00 per month.
- (h) Sale of sullage water, for agricultural purposes is proposed.
- (i) Amendment of regulations would be needed in order to make it compulsory for the public to connect the premises to the sewer system wherever such facility exists and strict enforcement of such regulations is recommended.

Based upon the above proposals, the total income of the Municipal Committee from all sources, projected for 5 years, is Rs. 2085.70 lakhs. Assuming that loans to the tune of

Rs. 978 lakhs would be made available over the 5 year period, from various sources, for the different schemes as proposed in the Project, the total receipts of the Municipal Committee would come to Rs. 3,053 lakhs against a projected expenditure of Rs. 3334.34 lakhs. Thus, a deficit of Rs. 270.64 lakhs could be left over the 5 year period for which subsidy will be needed by the Municipal Committee, in order to successfully implement the development project. The yearwise requirements of loan and subsidy, therefore, would be as under:

(Rs. in lakhs)

Year	Total Expenditure	Total income	Deficit	Amount of loan anticipated	Subsidy required
1974-75	517.20	241.14	276.06	202.00	74.06
1975-76	625.52	368.62	256.90	194.00	62.90
1976-77	672.98	439.89	233.09	194.00	39.09
1977-78	731.82	489.54	242.28	194.00	48.28
1978-79	786.82	546.51	240.31	194.00	46.31
Total	3334.34	2085.70	1248.64	978.00	270.64

Thus the assistance needed by the Municipal Committee for executing the various development schemes, during the 5 year period would be Rs. 978 lakhs and Rs. 270.64 lakhs would have to be found by way of subsidy.

In a nutshell, the total requirement of assistance for the Project would be as under, during the 5 year period.

(Rs. in lakhs)

Year	Section A		Section B		Total
	Acquisition and Development of new areas		Improvements in the existing city		
	Loan	Subsidy	Loan	Subsidy	
1974-75	200.00	—	202.00	74.06	476.06
1975-76	—	—	194.00	62.90	256.90
1976-77	—	—	194.00	39.09	233.09
1977-78	—	—	194.00	48.28	242.28
1978-79	—	—	194.00	46.31	240.31
Total	200.00	—	978.00	278.64	1448.64

The scheme for setting up mechanical composting involving an expenditure of Rs. 200 lakhs will, however, qualify for financial assistance from the Government of India, Ministry of Agriculture. The scheme envisages a loan of Rs. 135 lakhs and subsidy of Rs. 65 lakhs, which could be available under the Government of India scheme. This scheme is, therefore, being sent to the Local Government Department, Punjab for onward transmission to the Government of India for obtaining the offered assistance.

A very rough assessment of the municipal financial situation, with perspective up to 1990-91, has also been attempted, at constant prices. Though it is conceded that the present projections can be improved in due course, when better data base is available, nevertheless, it does provide an assessment, though rough, of the resource situation likely to emerge in future, from which it would be seen that the financial position of the municipality is likely to improve considerably from the year 1982-83, when the proposals contained in the Project are expected to generate surplus revenues every year, after accounting for all the expenditure including capital works, maintenance, repayment of loan instalments, interest on loans, establishment, contingencies and other matters.

It is to be observed that the successful implementation of the Project would involve very effective enforcement machinery in order to safeguard against any haphazard growth, whatsoever, comes up at all, rather than attempting to deal with the problems subsequently, after the situation has become hopeless. For this purpose a very accurate and authenticated survey record of all the properties in the urban area and the existing uses of land will have to be made and maintained under a modern documentation system, for legal evidence, evaluation of the properties and future planning and development of the areas. Further, for the enforcement of regulations, very close and effective supervision would be required. Both these purposes can be served by setting up of a Cell for conducting existing land use survey, evaluation and enforcement. The annual cost of such a Cell would be Rs. 12 lakhs approximately, which is proposed to be shared equally by the Municipal Committee and Planning and Development Authority. The cost to be shared by the Municipal Committee would be met from its

general budget, as projected, and that of the Planning and Development Authority from the provision for surveys and administrative charges for the development of new areas, provided for in the project report.

Reports of the Working Groups

Working Group I

PROGRAMME PLANNING, COORDINATION AND MONITORING

The Working Group discussed the subject of Programme Planning, Coordination and Monitoring in the light of the contributions made by the various papers as well as the suggestions and comments of the members of the Group. The Group agreed that the topics given to it for discussion were extensive and that it would not be possible for them to cover these topics comprehensively. However, some of the more important aspects have been discussed in the Group and the conclusions arrived at by the Group are set out below :

The Group felt that programming of development has to have as its base a development plan with certain stated goals and objectives. The Group, therefore, discussed the contents of the development plan before taking up the topics of programming itself.

The Group while discussing the goals and objectives of a development plan, felt that goals would be the same as the socialistic objectives of national goals in the field of economic and social development. The development plan, however, should specifically state the objective which it intends to achieve over a definite time perspective, say 15 or 20 years.

In evolving the objectives of the development plan, it is necessary that the population groups for whom these objectives are evolved are very closely associated and have an opportunity to participate in formulating these objectives. The consultation

with elected leaders may not be always effective in this regard and it may be necessary to approach the primary groups themselves in ascertaining their needs and evolving the objectives.

The objectives of development plan has to cater to the needs and aspirations of different groups within the development areas and specifically the economically weaker section which has to be given highest consideration in case of conflict.

The objectives of the Perspective Plan should include economic and social goals in terms of the employment, income, health, education and other facilities.

The Group agreed that the development plan cannot be comprehensive in all its aspects. It recognises that selected sectors such as basic services, transport network, industrial location and growth can be well detailed out for the entire period of the development plan. In areas like housing, except for indicating the total residential component for the growth of population, detailing of the housing programme will be restricted to those sectors where it can be concretised. In the case of other sectors it will be spelt out in general terms.

While development plan should have its sufficient flexibility in regard to certain sectors, so that the changed needs of the population can be adequately taken note of, in regard to the broad land uses and the services network, etc., the development plan cannot be changed without upsetting the objectives.

The programme which will be of shorter duration, i.e., 3 to 5 years, should be comprehensive and must include all the sectors of development including various agencies concerned with development in that area. The programming will recognise sectoral priorities as well as intra-sectoral phasing based upon the area-wise study of the requirements of services, such as housing, schools, hospitals, etc.

The programme mix in each case has to be optimised in regard to the benefits as well as investments. However, such optimisation will be very difficult and complicated in case of built-up areas where crisis situation and backlog of shortages will dictate their own priorities. In the new areas, however, the programme mix should be optimised for achieving the objectives.

Before the programmes can be drawn up, it will be necessary that development strategy should be evolved for overall

plan as well as for each area indicating the thrust of development, the leading sectors, and investment priorities. It is only on the basis of such development strategy that rational programming can be done.

Programming can only be effective when it is continuous and statutorily binding on all the agencies operating in the area. The capital budgeting for the various programmes must be channelised through the agency administering the programme. The Calcutta experience indicated that the programme has to be prepared in close consultation, collaboration and to the extent possible concurrence of the agencies concerned so that the latter identify themselves fully with programming and will report to the programme coordinating agency continuously on the progress of the programmes. This will help proper coordination and monitoring.

The group discussed the integrated development aspects and came to the conclusion that so far as programming is concerned the integration means that programmes directed towards any specific areas are all integrated and will be complementary and supplementary to one another and thus help to maximise the total benefits from the programme to that area. Further, the integration will also keep in view the development strategy and balanced development in the different sectors and areas so that unbalanced development of land uses do not take place.

Programming must include an assessment and augmentation of the financial, technical and manpower resources of all the agencies concerned.

The programme should also be kept in view the need to adopt appropriate technology which should be used to as large an extent as possible to available human resources.

The development plan has to keep in view the regional perspective framework for development of the urban system, as well as the national perspective pertaining to the specific area.

The function of coordination to be effective has to be continuous and both ways. The coordination will also imply the evaluation of the progress of the project in each sector and their inter-relationship. This should also provide for the corrective measures to be taken wherever unbalanced development takes place.

The programme should provide for development of the

required managerial personnel at all levels to handle programming, programme coordination and programme monitoring.

The monitoring requires as a prerequisite, the building up of data base and continued feedback to bring the data base up-to-date. This should be built into the monetary system and it should be participated in by all the agencies concerned. Further information from monitoring/managerial system should flow both ways and must be available to all the agencies and as far as possible, the communication gaps must be eliminated amongst the agencies and adequate measures should be taken in this regard.

Taking note of the investment that is going into the squatters colony—in Delhi it has been estimated to be nearly Rs. 3 crores—and recognising that large scale migration of population to metropolitan cities will continue in this decade, the Group felt that the programme must positively provide for development of spontaneous communities in an orderly fashion in accordance with acceptable standards for intensity of buildings, sanitation, drainage, water supply and amenities.

Working Group II

ORGANISATION AND LEGAL TOOLS

ORGANISATION

It was agreed that urban areas be considered under three different sub-heads, namely, Category A towns covering cities having population over 10 lakhs; Category B towns should include cities having population between 3 lakhs and a million, and Category C towns having less than 3 lakhs of population. The group agreed that although population should not only be the criterion to classify urban areas into three levels but in the absence of other data and the fact that these levels were generally accepted in the Planning Commission and in the Ministry of Works and Housing for various programmes and policies relating to urban development, these criteria may be adopted for determining the organisational structure of development authorities.

The group agreed that it would be rather difficult to evolve a uniform organisational structure for Planning and Development Authorities all over the country under the above three sub-heads. Existing structures of Development Authority in Jaipur, Hyderabad, Madras, Calcutta and Bhopal were considered in detail. The group agreed that a development authority should better be called Planning and Development Authority preceded by the name of the town. Due consideration should, however, be given to the existing conditions in a particular city in the matter of planning and development.

The Planning and Development Authority should be a multi-functional authority. Its activities should cover plan preparation, coordination, plan implementation, enforcement including review of the plan.

Territorial jurisdiction of the authority should extend to the entire planning area which should include the existing urban area urbanisable area as well as the peripheral control belt such a planning area should take into consideration development of the city for a period of 20 to 25 years.

The organisational structure of the Planning and Development Authority was also discussed. It was the general consensus that for towns of A and B categories, the size of the authority should be such as to provide representation of all decision-making and implementing departments concerned with the urban area. It should also be small enough to discharge its duties and responsibilities effectively. An authority with a chairman and 8 to 12 members was considered a workable organisation. The authority should however, have an advisory council which could be a larger body with representation of often officials and non-officials interested in the planned development of the area. The authority may have a smaller standing committee for day-to-day functioning. The group felt that there should be only one chief executive for the authority, be it for Metropolitan cities or for cities of B and C categories. Chief Executive should be a functionary so as to provide continuity with the plan preparation, coordination implementation and plan review.

The group felt that establishment of independent Planning and Development Authority for C category towns may not be administratively feasible at this stage. The group therefore, recommended that as a first step the existing authority in the urban

area concerned be designated as the Local Planning and Development Authority. Such an authority should be provided with an adequate administrative and financial support.

LEGAL TOOLS

The group considered the legal tools required for effective functioning of Planning and Development Authorities at three levels.

Enactment of Comprehensive Town and Country Planning legislation is a pre-requisite for promoting planned development. A number of States in the country have still not enacted Comprehensive Town and Country Planning legislation. The group felt that this is the first step towards planned development of urban areas.

There is also need for a National Urban Land Policy. In the absence of such a Policy, various States have formulated variety of rules and regulations for regulating urban development. Some rules have come in conflict with the fundamental rights and have been questioned in the court of law. It is, therefore, essential that a National Land Policy should be formulated immediately.

It was felt that land is the primary resource for not only financing urban development but also for undertaking plan and development of towns and cities. Adequate legal tools have therefore, to be provided to the Planning and Development Authority to acquire land as expeditiously as possible.

As soon as the Planning and Development Authority for a particular area is constituted, the government should transfer free of cost all revenue, first and other public lands under possession of various departments to this authority. This will give an excellent resource for the authority to start functioning and undertake development works.

The present Land Acquisition Act of 1894, needs to be suitably amended in the light of 25th Amendment of the Constitution. Government of India should take immediate steps for amending the relevant clauses of Land Acquisition Act so as to provide for 'amount' in place of 'compensation' for acquiring lands.

In order to undertake planned development in an integrated

and systematic manner, bulk acquisition of land in phased manner in accordance with the Master Plan of the urban area should be resorted to. The Planning and Development Authority should be the only Authority in the urban area concerned for acquiring such land. This Authority shall submit proposals to the State Government for acquiring land according to the phased programme. It shall act as the Land Bank, and shall make land available (both developed and undeveloped) according to the needs of the various action agencies in the area. No other body or department of the Government should be allowed to acquire land within the urban area. In order to meet the demands of the various action agencies, Planning and Development Authority should programme its land acquisition work in such a manner that it shall be able to meet the requests from action agencies.

A comprehensive review should immediately be undertaken of all the relevant legislation applicable within the Urban Area and suitable amendments to all such legislation be made so as to delegate the requisite powers to the Planning and Development Authority. The Planning and Development Authority may in turn delegate some of its powers to other local authorities functioning in the area.

Working Group III

BUDGETING AND FINANCE

The group recommended, as a first step, that the finances of urban development should bear close relationship with the rate of growth of economy in the urban areas and the rate of urban savings. The system accepted in the perspective plan should be a good indicator. The group further recommended that in the building of 25 years perspective, divided into 5 years spans, exercises should be undertaken on the following:

1. the rate of growth of urban population in cities of all size classes namely: million plus, five lakhs to ten lakhs, 3 lakhs to 5 lakhs, a lakh to 3 lakhs, 50,000 to one lakh and below 50,000;
2. the accepted rate of growth on the secondary and

tertiary sectors in the urban areas in the various size classes;

3. the rate of growth of essential and community services like water supply, sewerage, road network and transportation services that will be desirable for the 25 years divided into 5 year spans;
4. the rate of growth of linkage services between the larger city agglomeration and the smaller towns; and
5. provisional steps in investment that should have to be taken in the cities and towns of the various sizes.

At the present moment, unlike agriculture area, there is no institution or set of institutions for the industrial sector to earmark land and credit facilities to municipal and local bodies or Development Authorities for urban development. Institutions like HUDCO and LIC are not proving adequate as lending sources for long term urban development purposes. It is desirable that Government should identify specific institutions for servicing these authorities in the future. Similarly, at the State level, comparable to the State Industrial Finances Corporation and other bodies, there should be set of institutions for financing urban development in the long term and short term perspectives. There is danger in copying too blindly proto-type of international financing agencies which may bring up stresses and strains for the stable population of urban areas.

It was noted that credit facilities for urban development vary in accordance with the type of project to be undertaken. Projects are of three kinds:

1. Those which are remunerative or self liquidating such as land development or housing.
2. Those which are semi remunerative, for example water supply, sewerage and social housing.
3. Those which are non-remunerative such as slum improvement and other deficiencies in municipal amenities.

In regard to (1) the question of socialisation of land becomes most relevant as without a conscious policy of socialisation, land development and housing will become increasingly unremunerative and far from self liquidating. In respect of water supply, sewerage and social housing different modules will have to be devised for different size classes for cities and towns and for different textures of population with varying resource generating

capacity. In respect of Slum Improvement, different view will have to be taken as to how much the Central and State Governments will set apart as one time investment with little or no return in this particular sector. The question will be one of the plain subsidies—both capital and revenue for special areas and sizes of population and for specific periods.

With regard to budgeting of urban development plans in metropolitan and million plus cities it was recommended that an adequate seed capital should be provided to enable the authority to operate a revolving fund. The seed capital should be provided in the form of capital grant or a long-term loan with revolving mechanism.

It was further recommended that the Urban Development Authority should have a complete picture of the future plans of all Central and State Government Departments and of Industrial Development Corporations so that it can prepare detailed programmes for urban development in all parts of the metropolitan regions. The urban development authority should also have control over developmental activities of government departments and private or public sector industrial establishments within its jurisdiction. It is further recommended that a mechanism should be developed to bring about inter-sectoral coordination of all expenditure and investment in a given planning area. The UDA should try to develop townships which could serve industrial establishments for locating themselves in and beyond the metropolitan areas, providing essential services and generating resources simultaneously.

The system of Budgetary Finances of the local governments have remained traditional whereas the State and Central Government finances have become more modern, progressive and development oriented. In order to bring about harmony in the anomalous financial budget both capital and revenue, it is necessary to reorganise the resources system which should be pertinent for removing the constraints on the financial resources needed for the local development plans.

In the tax revenue, the property tax forms a sizable proportion and the non-tax revenue comes second in the order. Grants-in-aid from the Central and State Governments are marginal. The group suggested the raising of more revenues by levying turn over tax, levies on the wage bill of companies

and on the unearned income of immovable properties; as also surcharge on stamp duty, etc. In quite many advanced countries grants-in-aid from the Federal and State Governments form sizable part of the revenue and capital expenditure of the local Governments. It is necessary to take a total view of financing urban development by a combination of lands, subsidies and fuller exploitation of tax resources.

Proceedings of the Seminar

The Seminar was inaugurated on May 3, 1975 by Shri K. Raghu Ramaiah, Minister of Works and Housing and Parliamentary Affairs, Government of India. Welcoming the Minister and the participants from various parts of the country, Prof. V. Jagannadham, Director of the Institute, referred to the last two decades of Planning process, the role of the Planning Commission and the absence of perspectives of urban planning and Development. He underlined the need of physical planning relating with socio-economic development.

In his inaugural address the Union Minister, Shri Raghu Ramaiah, said that the coming of the modern city with all the new vistas of employment, social services and entertainment, has had an unsettling effect on the old economic conditions, upsetting the socio-cultural life of the rural people who flocked to the city so much so that India had today the third largest urban population amongst the countries of the world with heavy concentration in the bigger cities. This haphazard growth has led to proliferation of slums and shanty colonies on open lands as well as in the back lanes of New Delhi and other cities. As a result of the terrific increase in the influx of population into the cities, all our plans for urban infrastructure are fast becoming out-dated and our city governments are undergoing a frustrating experience in the face of deteriorating environment. He pleaded for evolving strategies to keep people back in villages and small towns by dispersing employment opportunities, developing ring towns and counter magnets and providing civic services and health and educational facilities in the country side.

The Seminar was attended by Secretaries for urban affairs from a number of State Governments, Chief Planners and Directors of Town Planning, experts from various institutions, representatives of planning and development authorities and senior experts and administrators from the Government of India.

A pre-seminar Workshop was organised on May 2, 1975 to discuss the Working Paper. About 30 of the participants joined the deliberations, chaired by Shri R. Gopalaswamy, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Works and Housing, Government of India. A general discussion on the "Goals and Strategies for Urban Planning and Development" was held in the opening session on May 3, presided over by Shri T.N. Chaturvedi, Editor of the Indian Journal of Public Administration. The participants were then divided into three Working Groups on the following subjects:

- (i) Programme Planning, Coordination and Monitoring,
- (ii) Organisation and Legal Tools, and
- (iii) Budgeting and Finance for Plan Implementation.

The working Group Reports were discussed on May 4, 1975 under the chairmanship of Shri N.N. Vohra, Secretary, LSG, Housing and Town Planning, Punjab and Shri G.N. Dike, Administrator, Surat Municipal Corporation. Some of the highlights of the discussions of the Workshop and the Seminar are given below. These should be read as supplementing or emphasising the recommendations of the Working Groups.

PLANNING GOALS AND STRATEGIES

The Seminar drew pointed attention to the human dimensions of planning. Questions were raised—"For whom do we plan"? "Are they implementable"? Most physical master plans, it was felt, tend to have an unintentional bias for elitist plans with elitist standards that serve the elite clientele. There are not one but a number of public interests represented by clientable groups, which in concept, are mutually supporting but operationally competing for scarce capital and revenue resources. It is the poor and low income groups that are by far the most numerous of urban citizens and Master Plans are generally biased against these Groups. For instance, the automobile appears to have precedence over the cyclist and the pedestrians.

Implementation of unbalanced plans and programmes only create tensions and conflicts in the urban social order. Elitist view of urban development needs being reviewed.

Implementation ultimately depends on plans being realistic and acceptable. Plans must not be divorced from community's needs, power and capacities. It was felt there was little debate on the various aspects of the plan. One of the tasks of the urban planner is to set out clearly possible alternatives with due regard to client group requirements, specific objectives and available resources to provide the reference points for choice of most appropriate strategies and a political debate for complex decision-making.

There was tendency to regard the city plans as mere extension of zoning regulations—tools of negative regulation and enforcement rather than instruments of development and programme implementation. Plans prepared by technicians and professionals are left to be enforced and implemented by a variety of disparate local authorities, often ill-equipped for an on-going exercise and follow-up action under fast-changing urban situations; so much so that a good many plans become out-dated and their assumptions and conclusions might no longer be valid. The long-term perspectives of the Master Plan require detailed short-term programming along with operational budgeting and projectisation for implementation. A city plan is not a plan but a series of plans, a rolling plan under constant review and change in the light of field experience and feedback. Plans must grow with implementation, involving innovations and development of methodologies suiting our own conditions.

The Seminar viewed the present practice of preparation of city development plans as one of expansion of the existing town into the peripheral areas; and underlined the need of developing strategies to enforce curbs on growth of unmanageable agglomerations, so that it should be possible to limit the size of cities and the direction which they might expand. In this connection the Seminar underlined two imperatives:

- (a) Every city must be viewed as a part of the system of settlements in a given area. Physical plans must have regional dimensions overcoming rural urban dichotomy directed towards the development of a system of human settlements with appropriate dispersal of human

activities and employment potential. City plans must not be isolated plans but should be set in a regional frame to ensure development of counter-magnets.

- (b) Locational policies, socio-economic plans and programme must be tied up with spatial physical plans at the macro and micro levels. This has not been happening in spite of professed policies for dispersal laid down in successive Five Year Plans.

PROGRAMME INTEGRATION

The Seminar underlined the need of a definite action-oriented approach on the basis of a concrete programme package spread into different phases for integrated implementation ensuring quick and effective impact. The Seminar took note of the fact that by and large, no intensive exercise for programme formulation and project preparation had been undertaken to give effect to the broad long-term objectives of city development plans. This required concerted action backed by appropriate technical expertise and inter-departmental cooperation, and determination of inter-sectoral and intra-sectoral priorities. It was also noticed that priorities for built-up city areas may be different from those for the new expansion areas and regional towns. Again it was stressed that the priorities of institutions granting financial support in various sectors did not always coincide with the priorities as seen by local planning and development authorities.

The Seminar was of the view that isolated departmental programmes with their own sectoral thinking were a serious handicap to integrated metropolitan planning and development. A reference was made to empire building attitudes of the various departments. It was felt that while the various departments must specialise in their respective fields, their programmes and resources must find a synthesis at the regional and local levels and their priorities should find adjustment within the framework of an overall integrated programme of development in spatial terms to ensure the best utilisation of scarce resources with maximum benefits to the community of human settlements.

The Seminar also identified the need of adequate training of field personnel in drawing up programmes of integrated develop-

ment, and it was noted that training workshops were being proposed to be organised by the Town and Country Planning Organisation in collaboration with the Centre for Urban Studies at the Indian Institute of Public Administration.

URBAN LAND POLICY AND RESOURCES

It was recognised that the resource gap was rather wide and it had not been possible in most plans to adopt an urban land policy which has been developed to a great extent in Delhi but not in the states so far. The Seminar endorsed the needs of : (i) large scale acquisition and development of land, (ii) the most economic use of land as a scarce national resource, and (iii) a rational policy of reservation of land and its disposal in limited quantities on a leasehold basis. In order to make land a resource-generating asset, the following requirements were identified:

- (i) provisions of adequate seed capital by way of long term loans to enable its being revolved;
- (ii) all land acquisition and disposal should be with the urban development authority which should function as the land bank;
- (iii) socialisation of urban lands so that values generated by socio-economic activities should be ploughed back for the benefit of the community. This required amendment of the Land Acquisition Act to regulate the amount of compensation and special measures of urban land taxation to mop up unearned increments of land values.

Attention was drawn to the problem of flow of credit and the seminar urged that sufficient seed money be made available to enable full exploitation of urban land as a resource. At the same time it was pointed out that financial allocations do depend on the initiative of the state governments and development authorities in drawing up integrated projects for Central support. Prompt and concerted action for land acquisition was also necessary. The need of making seed money available to medium towns as well was emphasised.

Apart from augmenting credit facilities there was need of local and regional level resource system planning. The Seminar

recognised the role of taxes and grants for financing urban development and environmental improvements. There was a feeling that the 1935 Constitution model assigning all sources of revenues between the Centre and the States had resulted in the neglect of local finances and the Seminar expressed the hope that the recent appointment of Municipal Finance Commissions in a number of States will help to correct imbalances. Nevertheless the Seminar urged the local authorities to exploit their revenue resources fully by proper assessment and collection so that deficiencies in civic services in the existing city could be made up. The Seminar was also of the view that urban development authorities should have some specific sources of tax revenues allotted to them, such as betterment fees and development charges. In this connection the levy of octroi in the Calcutta Metropolitan District and such other taxes as arise from increment in Land Values were cited.

THE QUESTION OF THE AGENCY

The problem of administrative organisation and the agency for integrated urban development emerged as a crucial issue in the deliberations of the Seminar. The recent trends to legislate for urban development authorities on the pattern of the Delhi Development Authority were noted. But simply setting up of an authority would not ensure appropriate organisation for achieving the objective. A number of questions were raised. What is its nature, role and functions? Is it a mere extension of bureaucratic control with departmental and sectoral overtones? Can it ignore responsibility and obligations to the public? Is it only one of the agencies or the agency? It was pointed out that the establishment of the Delhi Development Authority or other metropolitan development authorities had not been able to overcome the problems of coordination created by the multiplicity of agencies. Should they all be merged into an overall single authority? On the other hand it was not possible to ignore the necessity of specialisation considering the variety of technologies required for urban planning and development. The emerging view of the Seminar was that while detailed projection and execution will require specialised organisation, there must be an overall authority that can take a total view of plan

implementation within the framework of the Master Plan, determine inter-sectoral and intra-sectoral priorities for the most viable utilisation of resources and their effective mobilisation, and undertake monitoring and review of the programme to ensure that all the sectors concerned with urban planning and development keep in step with each other.

As regards the question of reconciling the structure of urban development authorities with the objectives of public participation and the relationship of such nominated bodies with elected municipal council, it was pointed out that weak municipal administration has been the legacy of local self-government institutions and they have been unable to undertake long term large scale capital development work to meet a fast moving urban situation. Moreover, notified area of a city is a legal fiction and there are problems of jurisdictions. The area covered by a city or a regional plan is much wider than municipal limits containing rural and urban local authorities with widely disparate capabilities, while none of them are equipped to undertake the tasks of urban planning and development which requires a different order to technical expertise and a new approach to budgetary planning and finance. The Bombay representatives referred to the constitution of the Bombay Metropolitan Regional Development Authority which provides for substantial representation to the Corporation of Greater Bombay and other local authority in the area along with nominated members totalling 43. As this was a large authority, there was provision for a small standing committee of 8 to 10 members. The Seminar felt that there was need of autonomous area wide authorities with due representation of local bodies and backed by necessary technical expertise.

THE WILL AND COMMITMENT TO URBAN PLANNING

The Seminar voiced a strong feeling that there were reservations in government mind not to say of public policies and attitudes and there was a lack of will and necessary commitment to urban planning and development. Government policies of planning and development continue to be dominated by a dichotomous approach to rural and urban affairs and there is not enough urgency to deal with the problems of deteriorating

urban environment in an integrated manner. Moreover, problems such as acquisition of land, removal of encroachments and unauthorised constructions, etc., generate tensions and conflicts with political overtones. There is lack of political will to take effective action in the urban context. But administration must also share the responsibility for failure to take effective steps under the mask of political pressures. The Seminar was of the view that policies and their execution have to take into account the political constraints and policy makers must function to mitigate the inhibiting effects of such constraints in larger interest. It is necessary to evolve a framework and devise structures that could function within the larger perspectives of the present political and social environment and minimise tensions and conflicts.

